

The FIRST THREE GENERATIONS
of HOLTS IN AMERICA



Published Under the Auspices of
THE HOLT ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

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of HOLTS IN AMERICA



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THE HOLT ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

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The Model of the Ship Mayflower, in the room of the New York Society,
44 East 23rd Street, New York City.

Typical of the general style of the ships of the
period in which the Holts came over from England

1159037

THE HISTORICAL COMMITTEE
of the
HOLT ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Clara Holt Whitmore, Chairman

Mary Exton Holt

Frank L. Holt

Mary Abbot Holt

Rosa Belle Holt

Lucius H. Holt

Florence Adams Chase

Emily Holt Durkee

Harriet Holt Perry

Ethel G. Holt Philbrick

Mabel Brace Ward

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Preface

“HAPPY is the Nation that has no History”, but unhappy is the family which has no historian.

Fortunately, the Holt family has not been left in that plight. In 1864 Daniel S. Durrie, who was the husband of one of the members of the family and who later was the State Historian of Wisconsin, at considerable personal sacrifice and at the expense of a large amount of labor, compiled a genealogy of the family which has been the standard since its publication and which has been invaluable to any one interested in the family history. The members of the family surely owe him a debt of gratitude.

The present Holt Association feels that the family history should now be brought down to date and certain omissions and inaccuracies which necessarily crept into the Durrie genealogy should be corrected. They expect at an early date to take up actively the matter of compiling a new genealogy.

As this work will necessarily extend over a considerable period of time, it has seemed to the Association that it might be well to publish some of the interesting material accumulated by its painstaking Historical Committee relating to the very early history of the family in this country. It has therefore undertaken the publication of the present volume dealing with the first three generations of the family in America.

This work is not intended to take the place of a genealogy, and included in it is more or less material which

ordinarily would not appear in a genealogical volume, and some of which perhaps is more or less traditional. At the same time, the Committee believes that all of the information contained in the volume is entirely accurate and can be depended upon, and that it is only such material as is purely anecdotal in its character as to which there can be any question.

Harriet Holt Perry, President
Robert S. Holt, Vice-President
Edith Holt Tydeman, Secretary
Cleveland B. Holt, Treasurer
Frank L. Holt, Recorder
Clara Holt Whitmore, Chairman
of Historical Committee.

PART I.

The Nicholas Holt Branch

CHAPTER I.

OUR FOUNDERS, AND THEIR TIMES

WHEN an American Homer shall touch the harp to sing the great epic of the founding of America, may he not forget the catalogue of ships. With hearts of oak, looking for guidance to the moon and stars, relying on the never-failing compass, these little vessels, seldom more than three hundred tons burden, plied between the southern shores of England and the New World, until in 1640, when immigration practically ceased, they had brought over about twenty thousand people with their horses, cows, sheep and household goods. The officers who commanded these ships were of the same class and mettle as the British admirals and commanders who had met the Spanish Armada or, like Drake, had circumnavigated the globe. Their names should be honored in the great American epic.

In looking over the list of passengers of these small craft, one is impressed by their youth. William Brewster, the Plymouth elder and eldest, and Thomas Dudley, whose legal and diplomatic knowledge proved so useful to the Massachusetts Colony, were both men whose span of life had passed the half century. But every vessel brought its family groups, where the father was a man of thirty, the mother a little younger and the youngest member of the family a babe in arms. What courage must have inspired these fathers, as, turning their backs upon worldly comforts, they led their families into the Unknown, where, they believed, their children would be freed from the heresies and temptations of the Old World!

In the hearts of these mothers glowed the same religious zeal, the same love of liberty, as in the breasts of the fathers. It was because of the courage of their women that this country was settled in such a large meas-

ure by the English people. The French and the Spanish could never induce their countrywomen in any large numbers to settle in the wilderness. So it was not only the enthusiasm of youth, but the spirit of the home that presided over the birth of the nation.

Southampton was a port of importance with a long history. From this harbor the soldiers under Richard Coeur de Lion had set out for the Holy Land near the close of the twelfth century. During the Hundred Years War, ships and soldiers had sailed from here to invade France. Only five years earlier, a little squadron headed by the *Arbella*, had here taken their farewell of England, and had journeyed westward to plant a colony on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. It was a safe harbor protected from the high waves of the English Channel by the beautiful Isle of Wight.

Among the people gathered at Southampton in the spring of 1635, waiting to sail on the *James*, was Nicholas Holt, a young man of thirty-three. It is believed that his wife, Elizabeth, and their little two-year-old daughter, Hannah, accompanied him. In the passenger list preserved at Westminster, Nicholas Holt is given as a tanner (or turner, i.e. wood turner) from Romsay. As there is no mention of Nicholas Holt among the carefully preserved records of the old Abbey Church of Romsay, it is believed that the real place of his nativity, and his occupation, were concealed.

THE ENGLAND OF THE TIME OF NICHOLAS HOLT

The England into which Nicholas Holt was born in 1602 was Tudor England. To have lived when he did was to have been the compatriot of Bacon and Raleigh, of Drake and Sidney, of Milton and Shakespeare; it meant that he was participating in a great period. The Elizabethan age was one of which Englishmen have been

justly proud ever since. Elizabeth, last of the Tudors, died in 1603, but the impress of her reign, the culmination of a century of change, was to affect greatly the future of all men of English birth. It is this England which we shall briefly portray in order to see how Englishmen lived at home, and to examine into those causes religious and political which impelled them to leave their native land, cross the tempestuous Atlantic, and take up their life anew in a little known and uncivilized country. It is our desire to tell something, too, of the new land to which the early settlers felt drawn, and the problems which confronted them in making their homes under strange and trying conditions.

It is said that no age is ever stationary. This statement is especially true of the century preceding the Puritan migration. At the beginning of this period, England was still recovering from the decayed medievalism with which it had been permeated so long. She was inferior in resources to, and lower in civilization than, most of the states of western Europe. At the end of this period England had taken her place among the foremost of civilized nations. Her internal progress and prosperity had given her a fresh dignity at home. Her foreign successes, especially the defeat of the Spanish Armada, had added greatly to her prestige abroad. Englishmen now had acquired a vastly enlarged perspective, a gazing beyond the seas. The germs of the greatness of the British Empire had been sown during this century.

These great changes were due, more than anything else, to the practical English mind, which held by facts rather than ideas.

The Renaissance and the Reformation, which had so greatly affected the continent of Europe, had neither attained on English soil the headway that the one had in Italy, the other in Germany. Yet familiarity with both of these movements, and the stimulus they afforded, forced a departure from conservatism and inertia to a new na-

tionalism, a new cosmopolitanism. But in England more than on the continent, it was the Royal House which underwent a metamorphosis during this period. Because of this fact, the English found their lawful expression thru the Prince, and events gravitated more and more around his person. Thus it was that both Henry the Eighth and Elizabeth, during and after their respective reigns, had such tremendous influence on their times. But they were in harmony with their people; their acts but an expression of their age. It remained for the discords of the succeeding reigns to separate Prince and people and to stimulate Englishmen to seek overseas those liberties civic and religious which they felt were imperilled at home.

Life in England in the early seventeenth century, the years when Nicholas Holt was growing to manhood, was an interesting one. "Merrie England" did not wholly disappear while the Tudors ruled. Following the defeat of the Armada in 1588, foreign commerce was greatly stimulated. The Elizabethan caravels carried English materials far up the Baltic, into the Mediterranean, and to the Indies, East and West. In return came spices and silks from the Orient, wines, laces, and delicacies from the continental countries, and even cargoes of fish from the far coasts of the new world. The sale of domestic products abroad and the demand at home for foreign luxuries are but illustrations of the newly awakened commercial life in Britain, which in turn was reflected in the comfortable living of the average household.

English life for the most part in these days of Nicholas' boyhood was still largely rural. Cities were small in size and so isolated by the imperfect means of communication that town influence scarcely affected the lives of the great majority of the people. City dwellers, too, by strict regulation of their laboring class, thru craft guilds, discouraged migration to the urban centres, so that the growth in population was mostly in the country dis-

tricts. Though commerce was making rapid progress, agriculture remained the chief occupation of the average Englishman. Rural England had undergone great changes. The medieval serf and villein had gradually emerged as the yeoman and farmer of the Tudor period. This social and legal evolution, attained without strife and almost unnoticed, antedated similar progress on the continent by over two centuries. Land, of old held in common, was now privately owned for the most part, and the enclosed field, bordered by trim hedgerows, was replacing the open landscape. Thus the whole appearance of the countryside was in a process of alteration.

Comforts, even luxuries, were common where before a bare living had sufficed for the tiller of the soil. Manor houses with gables and glass windows had ousted the cold cheerlessness of the medieval castle. Comfortable cottages now housed the farmer and his family. The construction of dwellings varied pleasantly in each district. Oak and plaster, brick or stone, were used according as material in plenty was found in the locality. Many of these Elizabethan dwellings are still in use and in a fair state of preservation after three centuries of use. Great stretches of open woodland and forest covered large portions of the land. Wild game of many varieties was plentiful and free, thus affording sport aplenty and meat of variety to supplement the products of garden and farm.

Socially there were the two great classes, the Gentry and the Commons, but in each class there were, then as now, many gradations. The English nobility has always been recruited from the ranks of the common people, so the daughter of a well-to-do yeoman, with the broad acres and large income of her father as dower, made no *mésalliance* in marrying into the family of a needy gentleman.

Opportunity for education was not lacking; and we may be sure that Nicholas Holt, in common with other lads of his time, studied his Latin, Logic, and Rhetoric

as well as the three R's. Oxford and Cambridge were, even then, national institutions for the training of ideas, manners, and character. Schools known well today were already enjoying more than a local reputation, for we read that: "The four youths who came from Muscovy to study English and Latin were distributed between Eaton and Winchester." Community needs were provided for by district schools. We learn, for example, that in Stratford-on-Avon the local "*Rector scholarum*" was established in 1295. There the youthful Shakespeare must have perused his horn-book with the other lads of the vicinity and there made note of

"the whining schoolboy with his satchel
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school;"

The schools and universities were responsible, too, for the very high degree of literacy, the broad culture, and scholastic ability of the Puritans who migrated to New England and who established there as soon as might be centres of learning to guard their precious legacy.

A fair picture of English life in the early days of the seventeenth century comes to us from the pens of foreign travellers. Their impressions tell us more than mere descriptions can ever do. We note that the Great Hall of the Manor House was still the centre of social life and festivity. The Gentry still sat "above the salt": the Commons below. Food was plentiful for all and of variety, while the service during meals was an elaborate and dignified ceremony upon which great care was bestowed. One German testifies that the English are more "polite in eating than the French, consuming less bread but more meat which they roast to perfection." Another, a Hollander, finds "incredible courtesie and frendlines in speache and affability in this famous realm" of England, and pleasingly continues: "And this do I

thinck to be the cause that Englishmen, lyving by such holesome and exquisite meate, and in so holesome and healthful ayre be so freshe and cleane coloured—At their tables although they be very sumptuous and love to have good fare, yet neyther use they to overcharge themselves with excesse of drinke, neyther thereto greatly provoke and urge others, but suffer every man to drinke in such measure as best pleaseth himself, whych drinke being eyther Ale or Beere, most pleasaunte in tast and holesomely relised, they fetch not from foreine places, but have it among themselves brewed.”

The English historian Harrison changes the viewpoint when he calls his countrymen “Pamperers of their carcasses”; but he adds in extenuation: “The situation of our region, lieng neere unto the north, dooth cause the heate of our stomaches to be somewhat greater force; therefore our bodies doo crave a little more ample nourishment—.”

Plenty and hospitality went hand in hand, for we note that Elder William Brewster, later of Plymouth, provided the Sabbath dinner for all the members of the Pilgrim congregation that met to worship with him weekly. Nor were hospitality and good cheer confined to the gentle folk; Harrison tells us again that “both the artificer and the husbandman are sufficiently liberal and friendly at their tables; and when they meet, they are so merry without inward Italian or French craft and subtlety, that it would do a man good to be found in company among them.” Small wonder then that the early American settler, subsisting on the plainer, coarser food of the New World, sometimes sighed for the bountiful fleshpots of Old England!

IMPORTANCE OF RELIGIOUS ISSUES

It is difficult for us, living in this mechanical age, with its rapidity of movement, its creature comforts, its

freedom of thought, and its lack of spirituality to comprehend the religious spirit which permeated the age in which Nicholas Holt lived. This deep religious feeling was due to both the Renaissance and the Reformation. The former caused a wide diffusion of learning by means of the printed book. The masses began to read, and there was aroused among them a deep and growing stream of religious feeling. This was due primarily to the large place which the Bible had in their daily life; its constant use made this "noblest example of the English tongue" the standard of the language. The relics of Wyclif and his Lollardry, never quite dead in England, had caused men to be dissatisfied with conditions in that vast and venerable institution, the Church. Englishmen felt a quickening of consciousness, a growing nationalism, and with these an increasing resentment towards an institution which they felt remained stationary, an impatience of foreign authority and a declining interest in ancient dogma.

The Reformation, then, found fertile soil in England but was modified there along patriotic rather than religious lines.

The quarrel with Rome was based less on doctrine than on nationality. The people felt that something was amiss, and vaguely associated this with the foreigner. Thus, it was the King who was popular because the people felt instinctively that he expressed their own desires and that their welfare was bound up in his. They remained content to have him mould their political fortunes; and so, gradually, came about a widespread belief in the spiritual supremacy of the sovereign. This development explains just why it was that so large a mass of the English people were swayed in or out of the Church during the reigns of the Tudor sovereigns. It remained for Elizabeth, herself necessarily a Protestant, to confirm her country gradually in its Anglicanism. She gradually and

imperceptibly substituted the reformed creed for the Roman; treated religion as part of the state but without fanaticism, and refrained from the excesses so often found on the continent. Her greatness was to guide the nation so as to formulate the desires of a majority of her people and to stimulate their best spiritual instincts.

The coming of the Stuarts, however, changed completely the Elizabethan attitude towards religion. Because the head of the state was also the head of the church, the King's struggle with Parliament affected the whole religious question. To obtain a better understanding of the religious struggle it will be necessary to go back and trace English Puritanism. We do this, too, because it was the Puritans who settled Massachusetts Bay Colony, who at home preserved English liberty from the encroachments of the Stuarts, and who were destined, a century and a half later, to protect those same rights from the abuses of George Third.

As early as 1165 we find certain weavers in the diocese of Worcester summoned before the Council of Oxford to explain their heretical beliefs, and we are astonished to note that their views were substantially those held by Elizabethan Puritans. Wyclif in the 14th century preached the purification of church practices, and from these beginnings a steady stream of Puritanism may be traced until by 1568 we find a strong Puritan movement coming into direct conflict with the state. From that time on, it became a force that had to be taken into consideration in any movement for the unity of the established religion.

After the accession of Elizabeth, the bishops exiled to Geneva by the persecution of Mary had returned, bringing with them an extreme Calvinism which they hoped the queen would favor. Elizabeth, though no theologian and hating disputes, was nevertheless an uncompromising disciplinarian. She regarded the Church

of England as her own church and one over which her personal authority must be supreme.

Moreover she was extremely formalistic in religious matters, so the arguments of the Puritans against such ancient ecclesiastical forms as the use of vestments, kneeling at communion, and making the sign of the Cross at baptism, fell on deaf ears. Elizabeth wanted one church and she desired its service uniform. Thus it inevitably followed that the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity were passed again in the first year of her reign.

The struggle between Elizabeth and the Puritans began in 1566 with promulgation of the orders known as Advertisements. These prescribed the minimum of ceremonial to be used in the services of the Church, and deprived of his holdings any clergyman who failed to conform after a certain time. Many of these leaders continued to conduct services with their congregations in secret. The conflict thus begun found Puritanism itself taking different directions. The greater part of the Puritan clergy still remained conformist, were Calvinistic, and were faithful to the established Church which they wished to simplify along spiritual lines. There was, too, a numerous group who held to Presbyterianism. They desired a state church, it is true, but one based on a strict Genevan discipline within the pale of the church; it was to be a national church on the Presbyterian model, which rejected, however, the spiritual leadership of the sovereign. The third group, called Separatists, rejected the idea of a state church entirely, and maintained that the "Christian Church should be composed exclusively of Christian men." All of these types were represented in the Great Migration to New England but the last mentioned or Congregational type was by far the most numerous.

Laws for the punishment of non-conformists became more severe until the Conventicle Act of 1593 forced all recalcitrants to "Abjure this realm of England and all other the Queen's Majesty's dominions forever." The

immediate effect of this act was the migration to Holland of the Pilgrims, who later, in the Mayflower, were to precede their fellow sufferers to the New World.

Elizabeth's reign had nevertheless been one of compromise. She did try to insist on uniformity, but refused to allow any active persecution on account of religious belief. As a result her rule was wise and the queen remained popular until her death in 1603.

Under the first Kings of the Stuart line, James I and his son Charles I, the personal popularity of the sovereigns was lost and the spirit of compromise disappeared. This result was due to the Stuart stubbornness and unfortunate insistence upon the idea that kings rule by Divine Right.

At the accession of James in 1603, when Nicholas Holt was a babe in arms, Puritans of all shades of belief hoped for a modification of the existing laws, because the King had been raised in the Presbyterianism of the Scotch church. The Roman Catholics, remembering that James' mother, Mary, Queen of Scots, had been a Catholic, were expectant that he would tolerate their faith. But James disappointed both parties. The Protestantism of the Puritan smacked of disloyalty in challenging the supremacy of the King;—a similar movement in the political field would challenge Divine Right. "Presbytery," said James, "agreeth as well with Monarchy as God and the Devil." His position was well shown by the enunciation of one of the wisest of his obiter dicta: "No Bishop, no King." The natural toleration of James would have led him to conciliate the Catholic party, but the Gunpowder Plot aroused the people to such an anti-Romanist frenzy that he was forced to yield to the pressure of Parliament and enforce the penal laws against the Catholics.

James' claim to Divine Right was quickly adopted by the Anglican Church. Learned theologians declared that "Sovereignty in its origin is the prerogative of birth-

right:" they inculcated passive obedience to the monarch as a religious obligation. Divine Right as a Catholic principle was directly opposed to that of Puritanism in the church, and by the time James had been on the throne a decade these two conflicting theories had become permanently hostile. The conflict thus engendered was continued with greater severity, during the reign of Charles, under Archbishop Laud, who sought to find a *via media* for the Anglican Church between Rome and Geneva. The results were unfortunate for the church. Large numbers of its most intelligent members, clerical and lay, were forced out of the Anglican communion. In the country at large every sign of moral earnestness became contemptuously treated, especially after the publication in 1617 of the Book of Sports which encouraged the playing of games on the sabbath day. This quarrel further divided English religionists and greatly strengthened the Puritan party. So it came about that Crown and Church, unfortunately, had taken sides opposed to the feeling of a majority of the English people, and fear for loss of their religious liberty was the great impelling force which caused such large numbers devoted "to an authority higher than that of Kings" to seek in the New World a haven from English Conformity.

POLITICAL ISSUES

The political dissensions which played a part in stimulating the Puritan migration to New England were of ancient origin. To understand them properly it is necessary to bear in mind that England was unique among great nations of that period in having a representative body, the Parliament; that this institution was always, in greater or less degree, a guardian of certain "Rights of Englishmen"; and that these rights, never wholly lost, had been gradually increased at the cost of royal power. It must be remembered, too, that one of the effects of the

Renaissance was the discovery of the lower classes, and that this effect was especially strong on English soil. Indeed, early democratic aspirations found voice in the famous lines of John Ball:

“When Adam delved and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman”.

Erasmus caught the spirit of English freedom and wrote to the nobles of his day in language reminding us of Lincoln: “What power and sovereignty soever you have, you have it by the consent of the people.” The reformed religion, too, became a spiritual foundation for democracy. Latimer preached that before God’s judgment seat all would be equal, since princes and ploughmen alike were made of one matter. Puritanism also represented the great leveling tendency which we call democracy, since it was the expression of a people seeking a progressive spiritual government, as opposed to the stagnation of the Church, and demanding a temporal power capable of protecting that spiritual growth.

Parliament had conceded much power to the Tudor sovereigns because in them the national aspirations of the people found adequate voice. If the parliament, which under Elizabeth had become Puritan, had felt the need of asserting its power, the queen’s popularity and ability to compromise had postponed the struggle. But the temper of the age was changing. Men everywhere were anticipating the rule of law. Bacon sought in material things to demonstrate the law of nature. Hooker had asserted the rule of law over the spiritual world. The Puritan by his very religious belief was urged to seek laws governing his attitude toward life and to accept or reject any claim according as it conformed to his conception of Divine will. A Puritan Parliament, then, was likely to challenge any usurpation of prerogative by a Ruler not bound by ancient law.

The Stuarts were bound to clash with parliament and

people because of their inability to compromise and their insistence on Royal prerogative. Trouble came early in the reign of James I, due to his extravagance. The Impositions granted by Parliament proving insufficient to meet his expenditures, he had recourse to new impositions without Parliamentary consent. This quarrel lasted until 1621 with increasing hard feeling engendered on both sides until the Great Protestation by Parliament in that year declared its rights against the royal claims. The King tore the page from the records of the House as answer and continued his course without the sanction of law.

Under Charles I, who succeeded James in 1625, the struggle continued with heightened intensity due to the extravagance at Court as well as the unwise rule of favorites like Buckingham and Strafford, whose course brought them more and more into popular and political disfavor. Church and state became inextricably interwoven thru the pernicious activity of Archbishop Laud, who had allied the cause of ecclesiastical organization with that of absolutism in the state, and who brought the whole influence of the Church to bear on the ruin of civil freedom in support of Kingly prerogative. Puritanism thus attacked was driven to desperate measures and it seemed that the special hand of Providence had been raised in providing that "Plantation in Massachusetts" to which "their hearts were stirred to come" to seek relief from the threat to their political liberties in the homeland.

We have shown, so far, the England of Nicholas Holt, and have traced briefly those currents of life, unique in Britain, of religious and political activity, and their effect in stimulating large numbers of Englishmen to seek to guard their rights in these spheres by migrating to the new world. Let us now return to Nicholas Holt, whom we left at Southampton waiting to sail on the good ship *James*.

CHAPTER II

ARRIVAL OF OUR FOUNDERS IN AMERICA

How long these pilgrims waited at Southampton we do not know. By a law of Richard the Second all men were obliged to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy before they were permitted to embark. The master of the ship was under heavy bonds to enforce certain laws and regulations. He took oath to punish severely any person who should blaspheme or profane the Holy Name of God. The prayers contained in the Book of Common Prayer established by the Church of England were to be said daily at the usual hours of morning and evening prayers, and all persons aboard the ship must be present at the services. He also took oath not to receive aboard or transport any person who had not a certificate from the officers of the port where he was to embark that he had taken both the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. Upon his return to England the master of the ship had to report the names of all the persons he had transported, together with all proceedings in the execution of the aforesaid articles. If he failed to comply with the rules and forfeited his bonds, it might mean financial ruin.

It must have taken some time to fit out a ship as large as the *James*. She was a ship of 300 tons, a good sized ship for that time. The *Golden Hind*, in which Drake circumnavigated the world was a vessel of only 100 tons; the *Mayflower* had only 180 tons, and the *Arbella*, which brought Winthrop to Salem, was a ship of only 350 tons. The *James* must have carried over a hundred passengers and mariners, and her cargo was cattle. Provisions for at least two months must have been stored in her hold; cannon were mounted on her deck lest they fall in with a Spanish ship.

The *James* had made other voyages to New England.

So we may imagine that everything was shipshape, when on or about the fifth of April the wind and tide were favorable, and she sailed past the Needles into the rough waters of the English Channel, and thence into the open Atlantic. Can we not in imagination stand on the deck of this vessel, beside Nicholas Holt, his wife and child, and for a moment share their feelings, as with tear-dimmed eyes they looked for the last time on the green shores of old England, and then, true to their race, filled with courage and hope, turned their faces westward!

This voyage of the *James* is well authenticated. The collector, the comptroller, and the searcher of the port of Southampton sent the list of its passengers, fifty-three, men, youths and boys besides "the wives and children of divers of these," to the "right honorable, the lords of his masters most honorable privie counsell, this at Whitehall, London." They evidently sailed with favorable winds and fair weather, for Winthrop, in his journal, records its arrival in Boston, and that it had made the voyage in less than six weeks. He writes:

"Here arrived the 'James,' a ship of 300 tons, with cattle and passengers, which came all safe from Southampton. . . . Mr. Graves was master, who had come every year for these seven years."

There seems to be a little discrepancy here, for in the lists at Westminster, Mr. Cooper is given as the master for this voyage. It is suggested that possibly Mr. Graves was the owner.

Many ships were coming now to New England. Winthrop records that on the Sunday after the arrival of the *James*, seven ships came to Salem and "four more to the mouth of the bay with store of passengers and cattle." It was probably because of the size of the ship and the value

of its cargo that Winthrop recorded its arrival in the port of Boston in his diary.

The *James* evidently had as pleasant a voyage eastward as it had on its westward way. For in July it sailed again from London, this time with John May, master. The following are recorded among its passengers:

John Johnson	26
Susan Johnson	24
Eliz.	2
Tho.	18 mo.
Ralph Farman, barber	32
Alice Farman	28
Mary Farman	7
Tho. Farman	4
Ralph Farman	2

How fortunate that this staunch ship was able to bear up under its weighty destiny, for the lives of many members of this association depended upon its safety. For this little Ralph Farman, aged two, later married Elizabeth Holt, the second daughter of Nicholas. Thomas Johnson, then only eighteen months old, grew up and married her sister Mary; and three of their sons in the unfolding of time married daughters of little Thomas Farman, or Farnum, at the time aged four.

But the records of these immigrants are meagre. Ralph Farman is given as barber, surgeon and wigmaker. John Johnson and his family came from Hern Hill, County of Kent, England.

But some of those who later in person or through their descendants became allied with the Holts in the new world arrived earlier than 1635. Edmund Ingalls with a family of young children journeyed from Skirbeck, Lincolnshire, to Weymouth to join Endicott. Edmund, his father, and his grandfather had all been farmers in that fen country, and it was a long journey

from Lincolnshire, washed by the North Sea, to Weymouth, west of Southampton on the English Channel. Endicott and his company sailed from Weymouth June 20, 1628, in the ship *Abigail*, Henry Gauden, master, and arrived at Naumkeag, now Salem, September 6, 1628, after a prosperous voyage.

Among the children of this Edmund Ingalls was his little daughter Faith. Let us hope her name was symbolical. Faith Ingalls married, in Lynn, Andrew Allen, whose life history before this time is unknown. He seems to have been a man of good education and worth, but untold miseries befell their children. Two daughters, however, escaped the family misfortunes and lived happily, marrying two sons of Nicholas Holt; Sarah Allen married Samuel Holt, the eldest son of Nicholas, and Hannah Allen married James, next to the youngest of the sons of Nicholas.

Again on the 24th and 26th of March, 1633-4 a long list of passengers took the oath of allegiance and sailed from the Thames on the *Mary and John*, Robert Sayres, master; among them was William Ballard. While the proof is not absolute, the evidence is good that this was the William Ballard who, at that time about eighteen years of age, later married Grace, when, where, and last name unknown, and had a daughter Sarah, who became the wife of Henry Holt, the second son of Nicholas. Thirty-eight names of the passengers of the *Mary and John* are on the list of the first settlers of Newbury, and among them is the name of William Ballard. The husband of Grace and the father of Sarah was first at Newbury, and it is logical to assume that he, like so many of the early settlers of Newbury, had been a passenger on the *Mary and John*. The ship arrived in Boston, in May, 1634.

The only other William Ballard given in the history of Essex County is the William Ballard who, with his

wife Elizabeth and two children, was a fellow-passenger with the Johnsons and Farnums on the *James*. He settled in Lynn.

In what part of England William Ballard had lived is unknown. But in the records of the meetings of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in England, Daniel Ballard, Esq., is named as one of the directors and one of its generous patrons. In May, 1628, Daniel Ballard, Sir Richard Salstonsal and Isaac Johnston subscribed 100 pounds each, while the rest of the company subscribed fifty pounds each. Again, in June, 1629, Daniel Ballard lent twenty-five pounds to the company. Meetings were frequently held, generally at the home of the governor, Mr. Washbourne, or of the deputy governor, and Daniel Ballard is generally recorded as present during the year of 1629. The question naturally arises: Were Daniel Ballard, director of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and William Ballard, who came to America on the *James*, related? Possibly these references to Daniel Ballard, hidden away in the archives of this corporation, may help some student of the Henry Holt family, son of Nicholas, who is interested in the ancestry of his many times great grandmother, Sarah Ballard.

Another early family allied to the Holts by marriage is the Geery, or Gary family. In 1685, John Holt, the youngest son of Nicholas, married Sarah Geerey of Roxbury, the daughter of Nathaniel and the granddaughter of Arthur Geerey of that place. The difficulty in tracing that name lies in the fact that given the capital G and the small letter r, vowels could be inserted, or added, to suit the taste. Under the generous auspices of the late Judge Elbert Gary, a descendant of Arthur of Roxbury, Lawrence Brainerd, a careful investigator, wrote "The Gary Genealogy."

According to this authority, Arthur Gary, the immi-

grant ancestor of the family, was born in Bishop's Stortford, and baptized there May 20, 1599. He married there April 18, 1625, Frances Warman. He came to America sometime between 1631 and 1638, since his second son Nathaniel was born in England in 1631, he was admitted a freeman of the colony in March, 1638, and a third son was born in Roxbury, in Massachusetts, in 1638. There is a tradition that he came on *The Planter* in 1635, but his name is not given on the list of the passengers.

These children who accompanied their parents from England and became the founders of a new republic must have been a sturdy lot. Winthrop relates in his journal how, when the children were sick, they brought them on deck, stretched a rope, and stood some on one side of it and some on the other, and they swung it up and down until they were warm, "and by this means they soon grew well and merry."

The Historical Committee has not yet learned when Robert Gray, the husband of Hannah Holt, came to New England; or when Robert Russell, whose daughter married Nicholas, Jr., sailed for New England. Robert Gray, mariner, was living in Salem, Massachusetts, in the early days, and Robert Russell, who was thought to have come from Scotland, was one of the early settlers of Andover.

A year before Nicholas Holt sailed for the New World, Humphrey Bradstreet and his wife, Bridget, after taking the oath of allegiance and supremacy at the custom house at Ipswich, sailed on the *Elizabeth*, of Ipswich, Mr. William Andrews, master, for New England. With them were their four children, the oldest, Anna, aged nine. When Anna grew up she married Daniel Rolfe, and on his death became the second wife of Nicholas Holt and the mother of Rebecca and John.

Genealogists have tried to learn whether or not Humphrey Bradstreet was related to the more famous Simon Bradstreet, but so far with no avail.

The Preston family is of interest to the Holt family, for there were many intermarriages between the two families. Nicholas Holt married for his third wife Martha Preston, the widow of Roger Preston. Her maiden name and the date when she came to New England are both unknown. Roger Preston, aged twenty-one, came over on the *Elizabeth* of London, William Stagg, master. He brought a certificate that he had taken the oath of allegiance and supremacy before the minister of St. Alphage, Cripplegate.

And now we have transported to the New World Nicholas Holt and his wife Elizabeth and their infant daughter Hannah, and also a number of the pioneer ancestors of families later allied to the Holts by marriage. It is time to spend a few moments in visualizing the New England of that period.

EARLY 17TH CENTURY NEW ENGLAND

Already in the early days of the 17th century the coast of North America had become well known. Sebastian Cabot in 1497 had followed the earlier Norse voyagers; during the reign of Elizabeth we find the new world explored by intrepid sailors like Frobisher, Raleigh, and Gilbert. New England was visited by Gosnold who landed in Buzzards Bay in 1602, and in 1614 John Smith mapped the coast from the Penobscot to Cape Cod and called the country first by its present name. In 1606 King James had granted charters to the London and Plymouth Companies. The next year both companies made settlements on their grants; that of the London Company being at Jamestown in Virginia. The settlement of the Plymouth Company near the mouth of the Kennebec River, in what was to be Maine, was, however, unsuccessful.

During the early years of the 17th century the coast of Maine became the rendezvous of the English fishing

fleet of some twenty sail which established headquarters on Monhegan Island. The intercourse between the fishermen and the Indians was friendly; a few of the latter even visited England and several became acquainted with the English language. It was two of these friendly Indians, Samoset and Tisquantum (Squanto), who aided the Pilgrims at Plymouth in establishing cordial relations with the chief Massasoit and his tribe during their first terrible winter in America.

The Plymouth Company, following its first unsuccessful attempt, authorized various adventurers to settle in New England, often giving them conflicting grants of territory. By 1629 small but growing settlements had been established at Portsmouth and Dover in New Hampshire, and at Salem and Wollaston in Massachusetts. In that same year, when Charles was about to dissolve his third parliament, he granted a charter to "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England." To the Puritan the granting of this charter came as a call from Providence. From the failure of their struggles with Church and state at home arose the dream of a new land where they could find a refuge, where liberty and religion might rest secure from old world strife. The call was accepted and the Puritan migration began on a scale little anticipated. The original two hundred sailed for Salem and were soon followed by the first Governor, John Winthrop, with eight hundred more. Seven hundred came over the following year, and then there was a lull until the severity of Laud's rule added a new stimulus. In the eleven years following Winthrop's arrival in 1629 over two hundred ships came to the shores of the new colony, bearing in their cabins over twenty thousand settlers. Boston was made the capitol of the colony, and the new government was established there in 1630.

The settlers of Massachusetts were a cross section of

the people of Britain. Some one has said that "Dukes don't migrate", but there were at least three members of noble houses among the great Puritan families who came over in the first migration. There were, it is estimated, one hundred and four graduates of Cambridge and over thirty of Oxford among the settlers. So high a percentage of educated men assured the colony of an unusual opportunity for culture and learning. The character of the people who came to the Bay Colony is well summarized by John Richard Green in his "Short History of the English People." "The immigrants were in great part men of the professional and middle classes; some of them men of large landed estate, some zealous clergymen like Cotton, Hooker and Roger Williams, some shrewd London lawyers or young scholars from Oxford. The bulk were God-fearing farmers from Lincolnshire and the Eastern counties. They desired in fact only the best as sharers in their enterprise." This predominantly English stock was little modified in character until the middle of the 19th century.

The Indians with whom the early settlers came in contact were fortunately neither numerous nor warlike. Along the coastal plain of Massachusetts the resident tribes belonged to the Algonquin linguistic family. The Massachusetts tribe occupied the territory from Cape Ann south to Duxbury, extending inland about twenty-five miles. To the south lay the land of the Wampanoags as far as Buzzards Bay. Cape Cod and the Islands to the south was the land of the Nausett tribe, a subject people to the Wampanoags. To the west, Massachusetts was divided about equally between the Penacooks, who extended well up into New Hampshire, and the Nipmucs whose territory occupied much of what is now Rhode Island and eastern Connecticut. The valley of the Connecticut was the Pocomituc country; they and the Mohicans of the Berkshires were both subject to the fiercer Mohawks of New York State. The five eastern tribes

may have numbered twenty-five thousand, before the coming of the white man, but in the winter of 1616-1617 a pestilence of unusual severity had swept down from the north killing large numbers. It is estimated that less than five thousand survived. Of the Massachusetts tribe, which suffered more than the others, there remained scarcely five hundred. The Indian of the coast, then, reduced in numbers, cowed by the pestilence, and filled with a wholesome fear of his warlike western neighbors, rather welcomed the coming of the white man as a source of protection and profit and readily sold his tribal lands to the newcomers.

The landscape of New England had been modified to a large degree by the natives due to their habit of burning the withered grass and leaves in November, a habit, incidently, still continued by present day Americans. This annual burning killed off new undergrowth and kept the woodlands open. As a result: "Trees grow here and there as in the English parks which makes the country beautiful and commodious."

Agriculture was the principal occupation of the native tribes. Land was well and definitely portioned out and each family cultivated from a half acre to an acre and a half, on which from twenty to sixty bushels of unshelled corn were raised annually. In addition there were grown beans, squashes, pumpkins and tobacco, the men interesting themselves in the cultivation of the latter only. Samuel Champlain, who passed by the coast in 1605, reported a great deal of land cleared up and planted with Indian corn, with no lack of fine trees. The year before the pestilence, John Smith refers to "The cuntry of Massachusetts which is the Paradise of all these parts.—The sea coast as you pass shows you all along large corn fields and great troupes of well proportioned people."

One of the early settlers, the Reverend Francis Higginson, wrote in 1629 the "True Relation of the Last

Voyage to New England," in which he records quaintly and accurately his impressions of the crossing and the new land. This old document was written for the benefit of those who, like Nicholas Holt, had not yet left Old England. A perusal of it, especially that part "In praise of New England", may well have been the added stimulus needed by those at home.

Of the voyage he tells us of the "Approach of a Biscaniers shippe, a man of warre, it made toward us. But fynding us too strong for him he durst not venture to assault us but made off." Surviving piratical perils came pestilence. "This day", he writes, "my two children . . . began to be sicke of ye small pockes and purples together." Fortunately no deaths occurred, but later came an "Easye gale and fayre morning", when "We saw a mountayne of Ice shyning as white as snow like to a great rocke or cliff on ye shoare." Passing safely through storm and icebergs, "We came from Capan, to go to Naimkecke (Salem) the wind northerly." How pleased, how relieved they must have been to pass through the "abundance of islands along the shoare" and finally drop anchor in one of the "store of excellent harbours for shippes." "We who first come to Nahum-kek," he continues, "found about half a score of houses and make what haste we can to build so that within a short time we may have a fayre towne."

In agreement with John Smith's impression of a "Fayre Countrie", he notes "The form of the Earth here in the superfices of it is neither too flat in the plainnesse, nor to high in the Hils—The fertilitie of the Soyle is to be admired at as appeareth from the abundance of Grasse—it is scare to be believed how our kine and Goats, Horses and Hogges do thrive and prosper here."

The assurance of food in plenty must have seemed attractive to the prospective settler leaving the bounty of the mother country. "In our Plantation," says Mr.

Higginson, "we have already a quart of milk for a penny", and as for the abundance of grain "Joseph's increase in Egypt is outstript here with us. Our Turnips, Parsnips and Carrots are here both bigger and sweeter than is found in England." Berries are recorded as plentiful as well as wood for all purposes. The chill atmosphere of old country homes must have prompted the line that, "Here is good living for those that love good fires—better—than many noble men in England can afford—." The contributions of earth, air, and sea are set forth at length, especial reference being made to "the Basse, a most sweet and wholesome fish as ever I did eat", and sixteen pound lobsters so that "The least boy in the Plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them."

The summers are described as "hotter than in Old England" with much trouble from "little Flyes called Musketoos—which are troublesome in the night season." Less attractive is the picture of the winter season when "For two months space the earth is commonly covered with snow which is accompanied by sharp biting frosts something more sharp than is in Old England." Nevertheless the description so painstakingly drawn must have been inviting to the friends who received it as the records of the next dozen years so amply prove.

The great migration did not come over in a steady stream to New England, but rather in waves like the rising tides that sweep her rude headlands. To understand this it must be borne in mind, first, that the leaders of the Puritan party were men of great power and influence, such as the Earls of Warwick and Lincoln or the Lords Brooke and Saye and Sele. These men, doubtful of success in their struggle with the crown, were preparing a refuge in the new world in case of defeat in the old. Secondly, the Massachusetts Bay Company was not founded primarily as a refuge for the oppressed but rather as the

beginnings of a new Puritan Commonwealth. And thirdly, the aim of the immigrants was not to better themselves economically, but to live in a state in harmony with their political belief and religious faith. They did not come as individuals seeking asylum, but were transported as groups or congregations planting themselves in new soil. These communities were likely to gather around one leader, often their own clergyman, and as they landed either joined an older settlement, or, as frequently happened, they struck boldly out to form new townships of their own, which were frequently named after their old world homes.

So we find names like Boston, Yarmouth, Topsfield and Ipswich from the eastern English counties, while from the southern counties come such names as Weymouth, Dorchester and Andover. Education bespeaks its influence in transplanted names like Cambridge and Oxford. The importance of this phenomenon of place names to us historically is that we are able frequently to trace our early American settlers back to their English birthplace and learn much of their home antecedents.

CHAPTER III.

BOSTON AND NEWBURY, 1635

WE HAVE seen that the religious and political conditions in England were such as to persuade large numbers of Puritans to cross the Atlantic and to seek in the new world a refuge where they could guard their English liberty and worship God in their own way, without interference from King or Prelate. We have noted, too, that this migration took place during the eleven years 1629-1640, when Charles Stuart essayed to rule without the aid of Parliament.

The passage of the Atlantic in 1635 was a long and uncomfortable undertaking as well as a costly one. The average trip consumed from seven to ten weeks, quarters were terribly cramped, food poor, and living conditions such as to entail real hardships on passengers. The usual cost was five pounds per passenger, ten pounds a head for cattle and three pounds a ton for freight, including household goods. It speaks volumes, then, for the quality of the Puritan that he faced these hardship in such large numbers; and at the end of the journey solved the problem of founding a new home in a wild country in which he was a pioneer, with no experience to guide him, nothing to rely upon but his own sturdy courage, the strength of his arm, and his splendid faith in a divine Providence, which he felt led him to this promised land.

You can imagine, then, the gladness with which Nicholas Holt must have gathered his loved ones about him on the morning of the Third of June, 1635, as the good ship "James" pushed her blunt bows among the islands of the Boston harbor. The realization that the hazardous voyage was over, that the new world was a reality, must have filled their hearts with a deep feeling of gratitude, a gratitude heightened by joy at the beauti-

ful vistas which opened on all sides as they slowly advanced among the high wooded islands and peninsulas that formed the haven of the then tiny metropolis of the Bay Colony. We can imagine the exclamations of delight and wonder as Captain William Cooper indicated the points of interest among the approaching landmarks. Far to the south across the sparkling waters of Quincy Bay lay the heights of Wollaston, home of a small settlement, while beyond extended the ridge of the Blue Hills of Milton, called the Cheviots by John Smith. Nearer, enclosing the waters of the bay, the headland at Hull showed the clustered settlement there, the first human habitation seen by the voyagers. To the north the Winthrop Hill came into view between the island channels; an occasional beach glistened white under the rays of the morning sun; the smell of land, of growing things, came sweetly to eager sniffing nostrils, each odor awakening thoughts of the dear land, now so far behind.

As they sailed into the lower harbor, signs of life became more evident. To port, the tiny house of David Thompson on Thompson's Island, showed dimly under a wreath of smoke; and beyond, the clustered hamlet of Dorchester could be seen on the far banks of its beautiful bay. Now came the narrow passage leading to the upper harbor. To the right looms Governor's Island, a gift from the new colony to its first great leader in America. To the left, the rolling eminence of Castle Island is to be the site, the next year, of the first outlying fort for the protection of the infant colony. The wooded heights to the southwest will be known at a later day as Mount Washington. The fortifications erected there will force the English Army to evacuate the city in the early days of a struggle, the seeds of which are even now being strewn in the little settlements along the bluff coast of this new England. Little do our new arrivals realize that the strife which sent them sailing across the sea, will, in altered form, pursue them there, and that to their

children and their children's children will be passed the same duty of protecting "the rights of Englishman" that their contemporaries are so soon to assume in the homeland.

And now the peninsula of Shawmut comes into view, crowned with its triple hill first called by the English "Trimount." There, between hill and shore, lay Boston, the goal of the "James" and her eager passengers. A near approach to the town showed no towering cathedral pile like that which marked the old Lincolnshire mother city; no outstanding edifice of stone or brick as yet marked dwelling or mart, for the Boston of 1635 comprised only a few hundred habitants, who still dwelt, for the most part, in the rude cabins which they had first erected on landing five years previously.

The setting of the little town was, nevertheless, a beautiful one, lying on the descending slopes of Trimount. At the south end of the cove in which the settlement lay, Fort Hill arose close to the shore commanding the approach from the sea. To the north, Windmill, later called Copp's Hill, formed a defending bastion from that side. Surrounded thus by three commanding heights on the land side, and facing an easily defended island harbor, the little capitol of the Puritans was located on an ideal site either for defense or commerce. As the "James" approached the city, other objects were pointed out. Across from the town was Noodles Island, where lay the log fortress of Samuel Maverick, "a man of loving and courteous behavior—strong for Prelatical power", and hence no friend of the Puritans. Farther up the harbor, the Charles and Mystic join the older settlement of Charlestown snuggled under the eminence of Breeds Hill, where "the vaunted Saxon might in all its stubborn strength" was to assault the embattled farmers of a later day, in what was to be known as the Battle of Bunker Hill.

The approach of the "James" had been noted by the townspeople, and as she drew near, many were gathered on the long wharf, eager to learn the latest news from England and to greet friends and acquaintances among the newcomers. The scene to the Holts was an animated one, and they gazed eagerly at the crowded wharf to see who would be the first to discover a real live Indian. There, to be sure, was a small group of natives near their canoe which was loaded with skins they had brought in to barter. The people, however, did not appear so different from those at home, as local industries had not as yet greatly modified the dress of the inhabitants.

John Haynes, recently elected Governor of the Colony, as was customary in the early days met the newly arrived colonists and undoubtedly invited the leaders to his home for a conference, in which he might learn of the latest political developments in England, as well as acquaint his guests with local affairs and advise them as to their settlement.

The appearance of the town, as the newcomers passed through it, must have impressed them as crude, for an early critic described Boston's streets as "crooked with little decency and no uniformity." From the end of Long Wharf, King street led straight up to the new House of Assembly, under construction. It was the main business street, yet most of the buildings were still dwellings of one story log construction, with the familiar thatched roof of the English country home. The humblest of the homes, built during the first winter in America, were simply square cellars with a low wall above the ground. To enter them it was necessary to descend a short flight of earthen steps. More pretentious dwellings were built above ground with logs nicely fitted at the corners and the spaces between cleverly filled with clay and straw mixed.

One such house, built for William Rix, is described as "16 foot long and 14 foot wide with a chamber floare finisht summer and joysts, a cellar floare finisht, the roof and walls Clapboarded on the outsyde the Chimney framed without dawbing to be done with pewan timber." Such a dwelling cost the large sum of twenty one pounds and was uncommon until after 1640, when "the hovels and huts" of the first settlers had been transformed into "orderly and well built houses." These houses were frame and usually had a single room on the ground floor, with a large chimney at one end and a steep staircase or ladder to the sleeping loft above, for the younger members of the family. About the huge stone fireplace centered the family life; it was the source of food and comfort, of light and social activity. Some of these fireplaces were so large that the heavy back-logs had to be dragged into the house by a horse. Each fireplace was equipped with a crane, jack, spit, and pothook, and usually on one side was placed a huge oven with firebox beneath. Across the top of the room were poles on which were hung dried apples, peppers, or strings of dried pumpkins. At the far end of the room the four-poster bed was located, with perhaps a cradle snuggling close alongside. A few more pretentious dwellings, progenitors of Colonial mansions, were already built. "The sides of these buildings were of frame construction, made with heavy oak timber—put together with treenails—The boarding was covered with split shingles, put on with wrought nails." This is the type of venerable mansion bowed and bent with time, but still firm and sound, which may yet be found in old New England towns, and a few of which still carry scars and imbedded arrow heads, mute witnesses of the hardships endured in their lusty youth. Into such a home Governor Haynes undoubtedly conducted his guests and there regaled them with the coarse bounty of the new world, a description of which has been so well set forth for us by the pen of the Reverend Francis Higginson.

While the elders were enjoying the hospitality of the Governor and learning from him local conditions essential to their settlement, the younger members of the James' company, eager to stretch their legs after so long on shipboard, set out to see the town and its surroundings. As they passed up King street, a few small lanes led off to the right and left. At the head of the street, Cornhill ran in both directions; to the left, the spring and the governor's house were located a short distance away. Stopping a moment at the spring to quench their thirst, they may have been greeted by a gentleman who offered to conduct them to Beacon Hill where they might see the surrounding country.

From this eminence a beautiful panorama lay about them on all sides. Most of the settlements of Massachusetts Bay Colony, too, could be seen from where they stood. They were informed that the eight settlements lying about the bay now contained about four thousand inhabitants.

To the east of them lay the two they had just passed through and by lifting their eyes the whole beautiful island-studded bay could be seen, while beyond, the blue ocean rolled to the horizon. To the northeast between the heights of Noodles Island and the Winnisemet Hills stretched the towns along the coast. Eight miles away was Saugus (Lynn) where there was a "store of good land fit for plow." Beyond Saugus lay Marblehead, "convenient for plantation and fishing", and still further north the older settlement of Salem, where the outlying farms were reached by small canoes made of "whole white pine trees twenty feet long and two and a half feet wide". Agawam (Ipswich), nine miles from Salem, was a "spacious place" with fish, game, and good ploughing fields. This and Merrimac (Newbury), their conductor may have informed them, offered the greatest opportunities for new settlers, as the Merrimac River had "great supply

of sturgeon and salmon." To the north, Charlestown was seen, a scant mile away and seeming at their very feet. Across Charlestown neck, the tiny settlement of Medford could be seen, a mile and a half away, described as "gentile and pleasant and fit for more inhabitants."

To the west the Charles River emptied itself into the tidal basin. Two miles upstream, they may have been told, was Newtowne, located just behind that line of hills lying hazy in the afternoon sun, and three miles distant from where they stood. Newtowne was described as "one of the neatest and best compacted towns in New England", where "most of the inhabitants are very rich and well supplied with cattle." To the west of Newtowne lay Watertown, where a fish weir had been erected and where, the stranger remarked, he "had seen 100,000 fish caught in the span of two tides." To the southwest, the single line of houses in Roxbury was easily distinguished. Roxbury, too, had wealthy settlers who already had set up a water mill on the banks of Stony River. There was "good ground" for "corn and meadows for cattle." The corn fields were surrounded by a paling. The distant range of higher hills a dozen miles to the south they recognized as the Blue Hills which they had seen on their way up the harbor.

Closer, some two miles east of Roxbury and located near to the bay was Dorchester, the largest town in the settlement. Dorchester was described as well wooded and watered, with good arable lands, hay land, fair corn fields and kitchen gardens. The territory of Dorchester lay far to the south and west and extended beyond the limits of the grant to the Colony. Attention was now directed to the round hill just across the bay from Dorchester. This hill, called Squantum, was the favorite summer home of the Massachusetts Indians; there each year for generations the aborigines had foregathered for the summer fishing, and there on the sloping hillsides had planted

and raised their annual crops of maize, pumpkins, and tobacco.

The panorama was complete; the little settlements had been numbered one by one; yet something more remained to be told. To the west out over the scattered hamlets lay range after range of distant hills as far as the eye could see. There lay the domain of the colony "to the South Sea on the west", a wilderness as yet but little known, teeming with wild animal life and maybe wilder men. Was there danger? Yes, wolves and bears had bothered the settlers right here on the peninsula at first, but now the cattle were safe in the settlements. The Indians, however, continued to bring in skins for trade, those of the beaver being especially prized.

Colonists were already migrating into these hills and it was rumored that the congregation in Newtowne proposed next spring to move out one hundred miles to the rich valley of the Connecticut. True, the Indians of the locality told tales of a fierce and unfriendly tribe called the Pequots, who dwelt near the mouth of the Connecticut, but the colonists, confident in their strength, were none the less prepared to migrate.

While the sightseers had been learning about their new home from the hill top, the elders had learned much from the lips of the Governor while at the council table.

The colony, they had been informed, derived its corporate existence from the charter to "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," granted by the King on March 4, 1629. The Charter gave to the Company "all that part of New England in America" bounded on the south by a line drawn three miles south of the Charles River and on the north by a line drawn three miles north of the Merrimac River and extending from the Atlantic Ocean on the east to "the south sea on the west."

The Company was to be governed by a Governor, a

Deputy governor, and eighteen assistants. There was to be a meeting of the "Great and General Court" comprising all freeman of the company four times a year, when laws and ordinances for "the good and welfare" of the company were to be passed—provided that they "be not contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes of England", and when new members were to be admitted. Annually at Easter time all officers were to be elected. Oddly enough the charter failed to designate where the meetings were to be held, and it was this omission that impelled John Winthrop to suggest that the company move *in toto* to America, a bold move but one extremely sagacious from a strategical point of view.

When the company first arrived in America and the scattered settlements sprang up about the bay, the assistants, numbering ten, had essayed to carry on the government arbitrarily. The colonists, however, having escaped from arbitrary rule in the home land, had no thought of accepting the same kind of government in the new world. In 1634, at the spring meeting of the colony, "the freemen deputed two of their number from each town to meet and consider matters at the General Court." These deputies demanded "a sight of the Patent", of which they had, to this time, been as ignorant as of the code of Hammurabi. Then, when they had learned their rights, contrary to the advice of the Governor and a sermon preached to them by John Cotton, they proceeded to establish a system of representative government, more democratic in character than the rule of the former court of Assistants. So when the Holts and their fellow passengers arrived, they found the new colony temporarily recognizing the principle of a society consisting of the three elements, the Magistracy, the Ministry, and the People. Here were the germs of the government which was later evolved, i.e. An Executive and a bicameral legislature.

To be a freeman of the colony and thus entitled to

vote, one had to be a regular member of the church in good standing. The franchise, thus limited, was bound to become a cause for friction at an early date, because among the thousand or more settlers who were arriving annually there were bound to be some who could not wholly conform. This non-conformity had two phases; one political, one religious. The first was exemplified by Samuel Maverick, a member of the Anglican Communion, who, in 1625, had settled on Noddles Island, later East Boston, and who had early demanded, with others, that "Civil liberty and freedom be forthwith granted to all truly English." This demand, of course, was refused. The religious question became prominent due to the preaching of Roger Williams, the pastor of the church in Salem. Williams, learned, quick witted, and pugnacious, taught separation of church and state and equal protection to all forms of religious belief.

These opinions would have meant the loss of life or limb in Europe, outside of Holland, and in Massachusetts caused Williams to be ordered deported, in 1635. Trouble was expected, too, from the weekly meetings now being held at the house of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. At these meetings the ladies of the town were wont to gather socially and to listen to their hostess discuss the previous Sunday's sermon. Now, Mrs. Hutchinson was a woman of great charm, keen intelligence and high social standing, it was true, but—she believed that she received inspiration from on High, and she even questioned the authority of the Scriptures as she heard it propounded. Such views (the essence of modern Protestantism) would surely threaten the peace of the city if persisted in.

As for land on which to settle, it was pointed out that the Assistants were generous in granting sites for settlement and that the handicaps were not serious. The authorities demanded that the settlers form communities, and that a village be laid out "in the best order to attain

two objects: first the tillage and culture of the soil; second, the maintenance of civil and religious society." Accordingly, the individual grantee was usually given a home lot of from two to twelve acres near the "place for Sabbath assembly" and had larger tracts on the outskirts "to be improved in agriculture." Community land, too, was set aside for pasturage and at times for common staple crops. Men were not "refused for their poverty", but aided to establish themselves by generous "grants of property." After this manner were the Towns of New England populated.

It should be noted here that, very early in the life of the colony, the towns developed a high degree of self government. This was due to the lack of supervision by the colonial authorities, the rapid growth of the towns, and necessity for the quick settlement of local problems as they arose. The towns, for example, found it essential to make local regulations for the sale of land to strangers; they had to make rules for admission to citizenship; they sought to encourage the settling in their midst of technical mechanics and specialized laborers. Later the colonial government demanded certain functions from the town, such as the establishment of ferries, the installation of suitable Inns, the building of roads and their upkeep. Yet with this growth of independence and strength there was a constant interdependence among the settlements for mutual support against the threat of Indian, Dutch, or French, to say nothing of the danger which constantly threatened from the hostility of the House of Stuart and the intrenched Anglicanism of the mother country.

A society working thus and carrying in itself the seeds of order, good government, and thrift must speedily develop under the conditions found in America. In these early communities there was, therefore, more mutual dependence than individual liberty; yet both were present. This modulated government, in which every member of

the community gave much and received much, was an evolutionary step of great importance, and a step for which the descendants of these men and women should be extremely proud.

During the evening of the first day in America, the leaders of the band which formed the passengers of the "James" doubtless met on ship board to discuss the next step in their enterprise, for, of course, a speedy debarkation and settlement were desired by all. The first consideration was, where should they settle. A majority must have favored a location away from the present nearby towns, a site where the good land was more plentiful and where their own group could maintain its identity. The question, then, to be decided, was, whether it would be better to push through the present towns to a new frontier, or to join one of the congregations from Newtowne or Watertown on its projected journey west to the Connecticut. Objections were probably raised to either of these plans. It may well have been pointed out that there were no roads as yet outside the seaboard towns, that they did not possess any vehicles, and that they had a large amount of household goods, farming implements, and cattle, all of which they had been urged to bring with them. Captain Cooper may have suggested that they settle on the coast, and added that the new settlement at Newbury, which had just started a few months before, would offer them a chance to settle on an equal footing with the others. In addition he may have pointed out the advantage of a single handling of their goods and the benefits of the coast settlement for food and for transportation. And thus it was finally decided to their mutual satisfaction. Authority was easily obtained from the Assistants; and after the "James" had discharged her Boston consignment, all was ready for the final stage of the journey.

The trip to the mouth of the Merrimac was in the

nature of an outing after the few days ashore. A fine breeze, perhaps, soon took them out of the harbor, and by noon Egg Rock and the settlement at Lynn lay astern. Salem with its clustered houses and its snug harbor was soon passed, and the bold headland of Cape Ann with its outlying islands lay abeam. The coast to the north was flatter, with gleaming sandy beaches, and there to the northeast, fifteen miles away, was the mouth of the Merrimac. Plum Island stretches nearly eight miles south from the mouth of the river along the shore. Between it and the mainland a narrow sound is formed into which the Parker River flows, three miles from the Merrimac. There on the banks of the Parker the first settlers of Newbury had established themselves in 1633 when "a number of people in the ship Hector . . . settled at Quafcacanquen". As the ship "James" passed along the Plum Island shore, the haven of Newbury must have been plainly seen across the Island. Shortly thereafter, anchor was cast in the mouth of the Merrimac and preparations made for debarking.

Before our company lands, let us see what was known of the town where they were to make their homes, and where Nicholas Holt, in particular, was to spend the next ten years of his life. We have already learned that the ship "Hector" arrived in 1633 and brought about seventy passengers who settled at Quafcacanquen. The following year, a company of one hundred settled temporarily at Ipswich, and, early in 1635, petitioned the General Court to be allowed to move eight miles to the north and join with the Quafcacanquen group. Their petition was granted, subject to the usual condition of their making the necessary arrangements with the local Indians. We learn that: "Two sincere servants of Christ . . . came over this broad ocean, and begin to build the Tenth Church of Christ at a towne called Newberry, their names being Mr. James Noise and Mr. Thomas Parker, some-

what differing from all the former (congregations) . . . in the preheminance of their Presbytery, . . . This towne is situate upon the wide venting streames of the Merrimack River, whose strong current is such, that it hath forced its passage through the mighty Rocks, which causeth some sudden falls, and hinders Shipping from having any accesse far into the Land. Her bankes are in many places stored with Oken Timber of all sorts, of which, that which they commonly call White Oke, is not inferior to our English Timber; in this River lie some few Islands of fertill Land. This Towne is stored with Meddow and upland, which hath caused some Gentleman (who brought over good Estates . . .) to set upon husbandry, amongst whom . . . Mr. Richard Dummer, some time a Magistrate on this little Common-wealth. . .”

“Their houses are built very scattering, which hath caused some contention about removal of their place for Sabbath-Assemblies. Their Cattel are about Foure hundred head with store of Corne-land for tillage. It consists of about seventy Families, the soules in Church fellowship are about one hundred; and the teaching Elders of this Congregation have carried it very lovingly toward their people. . . . Their godly life and conversation hath hitherto been very amiable, and their paines and care over their flock not inferiour to many others, and being bound together in the strict band of love, they promise to spend their dayes together (if the Lord please) and shall not be disunited.”

Newbury, as originally granted, was one of the largest as well as one of the oldest towns in Massachusetts. It extended from Mill Creek, which lies about one mile south of Parker River, to the Merrimac and up the latter river some thirteen miles. From there a line seven miles to the southeastward joined the upper waters of Mill Creek. The sea marshes along the shore provided excellent pasturage and the rolling uplands afforded splendid

sites for homes and tillage. Woods close at hand meant that timber would be plenty and wild game easy to catch.

Our company from the "James", then, had fallen upon pleasant ways. They were welcomed courteously on landing, and as their quality was recognized, they were urged to join the Newbury community. After some discussion, a site for their own place of settlement was assigned them up the Parker River on the rolling uplands which stretched away some seven miles to the banks of the Merrimac to the north.

The "James" was warped up the river on the next incoming tide and the unloading of the cargo began. While this was in process a small party was doubtless sent out to look over the ground and select a good site for their homes. They went under the guidance of one of the older settlers, and returned with glowing accounts of the country and with much news of their fellow inhabitants. They may have reported, for example, that among the original ninety-one grantees of the town there were: "Two clergymen, eight were gentlemen, two or three were merchants, one maltster, one physician, one schoolmaster, one sea captain, one mate of a ship, one dyer, one glover, three or four tanners, seven or eight shoemakers, two wheelwrights, two blacksmiths, two weavers, a cooper, a saddler, a sawyer, and several carpenters." Since the original landing, one ship had brought: "five or six wealthy and educated English merchants who desired to embark in foreign trade". With such a variety among its founders—and this was typical of the quality and abilities found in the New England settlements—it is not to be wondered at that the Massachusetts Bay Colony made such progress and has had such a strong influence on the history of the new world.

The Puritans who came over in 1635 had been carefully instructed what to bring with them as essentials for the start in colonial life. Bulky household goods were

reduced to a minimum, but tools of all kinds for construction and for husbandry were sure to be among the cargo, as well as seeds for the staple crops. Milch cows and sheep at first were necessary; so early in the life of the colony a herd of Devonshires was imported, and in 1633 New Hampshire brought over some Danish cattle. The passengers of the "James", then, undoubtedly came provided with the necessary equipment and supplies to make a start in their new surroundings.

To the new settler, the first need was to build a shelter for his loved ones, and the second was to start making provision for their maintenance. To Nicholas Holt and his companions, Newbury was provident. The forests were near at hand and rich in timber. Trees felled close to the water could be floated near to the building site. So the erection of buildings went on apace, and before the winds of autumn blew chill, homes had been built and made secure against the winter's blasts, and a place of assembly made ready.

There were three means of providing a livelihood in the early days: husbandry, trade with the Indians, and fishing. The uplands were fertile for crops, the Merrimac gave easy access to the Indian country, and the rivers and the sea swarmed with fish. Farmers, merchants, and sailors were all represented among the fellow voyagers with Nicholas Holt, and all were soon busied at their varied duties.

In a new community like Newbury, where every one was busy rapid progress was made. Living gradually became more comfortable, homes more pretentious, and varied industries arose to meet the diverse demands of a settled community life. Already a saw mill had been installed on the Piscataqua (Portsmouth), and in 1634 Nicholas Easton had established a tannery at Ipswich. At Salem, the first glass works were built in 1638, and a year later a brick kiln was set up. The woolen in-

dustry of New England made its infant beginning only five miles from the house of Nicholas Holt, in Rowley in 1643, when "twenty or more families of Yorkshire trained in cloth manufacture" settled there.

The sea, too, was the basis for many a New England fortune in colonial days. The first vessel was built by John Winthrop "on the Mystick" in 1631. She was of thirty tons burden only, and was called "The Blessing of the Bay". In a few years thereafter, ships of three hundred tons were being launched from the shipyards of the settlements. New England craft were soon carrying on a lucrative trade with New Amsterdam and Quebec, as well as going on longer voyages to the West Indies and to Europe. The raw products of the new world, masts, dried fish, pipe staves, and furs were shipped abroad "full all the year long." And in return came cargoes of sugar, molasses, indigo, fine cloths, and wines to provide comforts and luxuries for the colonists. By 1650 we find fortunes of over four thousand pounds which had been amassed in colonial trade.

Newbury shared in the varied activities of the colony in many ways. The "Bay Road" which was laid out from Duxbury to the Merrimac, passed through the town and its inhabitants were assessed for their share of its cost. The ferry between Newbury and Salisbury was licensed in 1640, the charges being two pence for a man, six pence for great cattle and horses, and an extra penny for "booking or credit". Four years later the town authorized Tristan Coffyn to keep an Ordinary (Inn) and to sell wine, an early example of local option.

The different happenings of colonial life, of births and marriages, of bees and huskings, of bickering and controversy, of work and thrift, of growth in things spiritual and material, took place in Newbury much as they did in the other towns of the commonwealth. And in this busy and interesting life we may be sure that

Nicholas Holt and his family played their part, growing in wealth as they did in numbers, and happy, too, like the nation "whose annals are short."

CHAPTER IV.

ANDOVER, AS NICHOLAS KNEW IT, AND THE NICHOLAS HOLT HOMESTEAD

IT WOULD be hard to find a greater contrast in surroundings than Grandsire Nicholas Holt and his family found in their move from Newbury, their earliest home in New England to their permanent home at Andover. At least one of Grandsire's descendants likes to believe he spied out the land long before a company was formed to settle. On that long walk to Cambridge which he took in order to help elect Governor Winthrop, he must have observed the great hills and splendid forests to the west and yearned to leave the comparative bleakness of the coastal settlements and settle in a region more attractive and satisfying to his English eyes.

Grandsire, the road builder, must have known the nearby settlement of Ipswich and its people very well, and could not have failed to guess that their winding river was the easiest highway to the wonderful back country. So perhaps he tramped over one day, and on foot or in a canoe followed up through the meadows to the point where Boston Brook meets the river. Realizing that his promised land lay a bit north of west, he followed the course of the brook to its source in the hills and there found the spot which fulfilled his ideal of a home. Back at Newbury looking out over the salt marshes and sand dunes to the east and the rocky uplands at the west, we seem to hear him say, "Wife, I've found at last the home I've been seeking." A dream perhaps, but nevertheless absolutely logical.

Grandsire chose his home wisely. No village site in New England was more beautiful than Andover, had a more interesting setting or one with more promise of prosperity. One sixth of the territory of old Essex lay

within her borders; and, whether viewed by the woodsman, the farmer, or the shrewd judge of potential water power, Andover, or Cochichawick as it was then called, was adequate to all demands. Probably Grandsire never spent much time in studying the contours of the hills, huge glacial mounds in which enthusiastic geologists read the story of the ages. He could not know the marvels revealed by the rocks, some of which are of the earliest formations in the world, nor know why the soil in the hills was unstratified clay mixed with pebbles and the tops littered with huge rugged boulders. But oh! how he must have gloried in the great forests; and he and his sons shrewdly acquired the best white pine land in the region, *Holt's Woods*, which included the Indian Ridge Reservation.

Then he noted the sweet, lush, grass growing rankly in the boggy meadows of the deep valleys and dreamed of fat herds grazing there. Here were great peat deposits. And what splendid tillage land could be made by clearing off the small growth and ditching and draining the meadows! A farmer's Paradise indeed!

A member of the clan declares that the Holt family was possessed of a demon for work; and when Grandsire climbed to the highest point of his land on the crest of the hill which bears his name, the demon was satisfied. So also was the love of beauty which must have lurked in the stern soul of the Puritan. Higher than any other in the country was Holt's Hill, and the view, the widest in Eastern Massachusetts, comprised the full sweep of the horizon. The hills of central Massachusetts, southern Maine and the foothills of New Hampshire were beautifully clear, and far to the north was the small but well defined outline of a great peak with every characteristic of Mount Kearsarge, one of the true white mountains.

On the northern boundary of the township the Merrimac flowed stately to the sea, while diagonally across the town from southwest to southeast the smaller Shawshin

took its quiet way. There were many ponds and lakelets, and Haggets and great Pond, each with its separate outlet to the Merrimac, were natural drainage basins. Of the many brooks and streams which drained the large areas of marsh and bog, Boston Brooks, which rose on Grandsire's own land, was among the largest.

No, Grandsire never knew the story of the hills as read by modern science, nor knew that on the rivers would one day stand some of the greatest mills of the land. He did see opportunity for a life filled with congenial work and the promise of satisfying accomplishment. Trees to fell, fields to till, rivers to bridge, roads to build and the nucleus of a great farm on which his children and children's children might find the peace and freedom to seek which he had left home and kindred. Ah yes! and some day when he got around to it there was plenty of power in yonder brook to run a mill if he wanted one. Here was fulfillment of the dream which had led him so far and so long. Grandsire saw all this and was content.

The great farm did not evolve rapidly in the first years after Grandsire Holt built his first rude shelter in the forest; it was much later that a Holt could walk a mile in any direction from his homestead without leaving his own land.

Early in the life of Massachusetts Bay, the settlers had worked out a plan which was adopted by each new settlement as best adapted to wilderness conditions. The site of the town once chosen, Andover immediately selected the place for the meeting house with a burying ground close by. Home "lots" of four or eight acres were then allotted, grouped as closely as possible for mutual protection and accessibility. After the church was organized, other land was laid out into wood lots and meadow, bog and forest lands, divided in proportion to original allotments. There were also clay pits and land held in common. Not all lands were divided, however,

for as late as 1675 there was great agitation as to the advisability of giving more land, and Thomas Johnson was one of a committee to consider the matter.

At a lawful town meeting held February 3, 1661, "It is ordered that all first comers of inhabitants who had been at the charges of purchasing the plantation and building the minister's house, the mill, and the meeting house, are allotted an acre and a half to every home lot of low and swamp land, and every other inhabitant that have been at the charge of building the meeting house and mill is to be allowed one acre to every home lot and this land to be apportioned to the lots."

The church was the governing body of the town, and the meeting house the focal point of all community life and activity. Each charter stipulated that grantees were "to provide and maintain amongst them an able and orthodox minister, and were to build a meeting house within three years."

The churches of Cochichawick and Haverhill were to have been organized April, 1644, at a council called at Rowley because of the inability of the new settlements to entertain so large a group of visitors as would necessarily assemble. But a difficulty arose, for the members who had made confession of faith in one church refused to continue confessing and repenting in another church, and it was not until October, 1645 that the church was organized.

The church members were: John Woodbridge, teacher, John Osgood, Robert Barnard, John Fay, Nicholas Holt, Richard Barker, Joseph Parker, Nathan Parker, Richard Blake and Edmund Faulkner. John Woodbridge became pastor and was the spiritual leader of the colony for the first half century of its existence. These men were the rulers of the town with power over all matters relating to the community, civil as well as religious; and rigidly was that power wielded with not too much of that mercy which makes man's power "likest God's."

The church members were named on the list in careful accordance with the relative importance of each man in the community. The first town meeting, held at John Osgood's, was not called until 1656.

The town now began to assume definite shape with all allotments made and three training fields set aside, these to be held "common forever." The need of these was painfully apparent, for the Puritan dislike for military service must yield before the stern necessity for protection against the Indians. And many a crowded New England city thanks the forefathers for the "common forever." The first training field was in the northern part of the town where the settlers built their earliest homes; it is probable that this settlement was made at first as being much more accessible to Rowley, Newbury and the other coast towns.

Other lands were held undivided and restrictions were made on the forests, as we find records in which it was ordered that "No man shall cut any shingles to sell out of town 'til they have liberty of the selectmen." This order was given in 1670; and in the same year the town voted to grant Mr. Walker and John Hazelton, of Boxford, to get "fiteen or sixteen thousand seeder shingles or so many as will cover their meeting house, provided they cut down no trees." These rulings indicate one reason why Grand-sire passed by other settlements in his home hunting. And let no one believe that our fathers were parsimonious in their restrictions. The crown claimed the right to reserve whatever timber it desired in the colonies, and many a great pine (which bore the crown blaze) was destined to become a mast of some ship of the royal navy. The resentment toward the broad arrow is mentioned in colonial history, and is one of the significant signs of the growing feeling against England. Of course the broad arrow was not the blaze until the end of the century.

The burying ground was carefully fenced against the depredations of stray animals, though certain others

were pastured there to keep the grass cropped, after the English custom. Stones marking graves were as austere as the lives of the dead. Of the earliest in North Andover, those of John Stevens, April 17, 1662, and Timothy Swan, February 16, 1692, a victim of witchcraft delusion, survive. Two hundred and fifty bear dates of the eighteenth century.

The great difficulty of confining animals was one cause of the order passed March, 1660, restraining inhabitants from building homes on land other than house lots. Pigs were such outrageous disturbers of neighborly harmony that no man could keep more than ten. By this time, too, it was apparent that it would be impossible to guarantee safety from Indians to dwellers in remote sections, and children must have access to the schools which were made compulsory in 1647 in Massachusetts.

Whatever other hardships Andover endured, she could never go hungry while her men could work unmolested. Game abounded; deer, partridge, turkeys, pigeons, wild geese, ducks and other water fowl. The streams were full of trout and there were ale-wives in Rogers Brook, salmon in the Merrimac, and for fruit the country was the natural habitat of all kinds of berries. The earliest records of the Bay Colony show that the fathers planned carefully for gardens and orchards. Here is a list of seeds and plants provided. "Wheat, rye, oats, beans, peas, stones of fruits such as peaches. And plums, cherries, pear, apple, quince kernells, pomegranates. Woad seed, saffron heads, potatoes, hopp roots, hemp seed, flax seed against winter currant plants, madder seeds." Governor Endicott's pear tree was already flourishing on his farm at Salem village, now Danvers, when Andover was settled, and testifies to the suitability of climate and soil by blossoming to this day.

As life settled into a routine the settlers had time more fully to value the new homes; and who would not rejoice in a land where "grass that groweth wildly with

a great stalk as high as a man's face" was plenty and Indian corn grew prolifically. "Turnips, parsnips, carrots and beets were far finer than in England, pumpkins, peas, cucumbers and other strange vegetables" also thrived. Water cress, leeks, onions, and herbs all added variety to the daily fare of Cochichawick. No wonder the Puritan delighted in a feast.

For a while every one worked hard and the chosen few made laws. Enforcing laws and punishing offenders were among the choicest diversions of the fathers. The English code was the basic law and with it went a fine regard for keeping records which Essex dwellers never value 'til forced to search records elsewhere.

New England town government is unique. With us the town is the unit instead of the county, and Heaven help the man who questions this. No better example of true Democracy exists than has grown out of the system, though this was emphatically not the aim of the Puritans. Democracy came squarely betwixt the wind and their nobility. Governor Winthrop himself said there was no such government in Israel and "it is amongst civil nations accounted the meanest and worst of all forms of government."

It is only the sentimentalist who believes that the forefathers came for love of God. Of the fourteen thousand who came between 1630 and 1640 to Massachusetts, only a small fraction were actuated by religious zeal or desire for religious freedom. Four fifths were disfranchised, and, since the small group of freemen wished to retain control, and church membership, which carried with it the right to vote, was decided by the ruling clergy, the great majority did not strive for either but attended church and submitted to discipline because they were obliged to.

Driven from England by the prohibitive cost of living resulting from cheap gold, the depression in textile in-

dustries, and general confusion in industry resulting from introduction of the cloth trade and competition with Flanders and France, the average Puritan sought comfort and, if possible, wealth for self and family. It was not until 1791 that property ownership instead of church membership was the test of suffrage. The ruling party controlled by clergy and magistrates was for moderation and tolerance in relations between the colony and England and of this party Governor Bradstreet was a notable example. A growing party represented the opposition and favored resistance and revolt.

In Andover, as elsewhere, only church members could be freemen and only freemen could occupy either civil or military offices; and a town must have ten freemen amongst its citizens to entitle it to a deputy to General Court. On the earliest list of freemen in the Bay Colony up to 1644 Grandsire's name is the only one of those who founded Andover. So his choice of a comparatively inconspicuous part in official life confirms the writer's belief that he deliberately set aside opportunity for military and political advancement. He devoted himself to the achievement of his ambition to become a great land holder and to certain types of work which he enjoyed.

As has been said, the Puritan was a prolific law maker. Many of the so called "Blue" laws are interesting as throwing light upon the current trend of thought. Many related to Sabbath keeping. A cage was provided near the church for Sabbath breakers and fines were freely imposed. A weary soldier of Andover was fined one Sabbath for cutting a piece out of his hat to pad his shoes and ease the chaffing of his feet. No food was cooked, no secular books read or music sung, and the true believer was not even expected to talk of or think of secular matters.

Courtship and marriage were carefully ruled. A young man must seek the consent of a maiden's parents be-

fore going a-wooing; and if he were successful, marriage settlements were required and scrupulously adjusted, with resultant quarrels many times and recourse to law. The youth who sought to lead a life of single blessedness was almost outcast, and he was assigned a home in the household of some responsible citizen and his conduct carefully supervised. Frequently he followed the line of least resistance and ended by marrying a daughter of the house.

No obstacles were placed in the path of the widower or widow who wished to replace a lost mate, nor was any period of mourning expected. In many a case the only thing that prevented "funeral baked meats" from being thriftily warmed over for the marriage feast was the heartiness of the appetites of the mourners.

One of the quaintest laws applies to remarriage. A widow could repudiate the debts of her dead husband if on remarriage the ceremony was performed at a cross road on the King's Highway, the bride wearing only a smock or shift. Such marriages usually took place at midnight.

No man could travel or kiss his wife on the Sabbath. Tything men were appointed, usually from the train bands, and these attended to the conduct of the young people in church and on lecture days.

With growing prosperity it was necessary to curb the worldly desire for fine clothes and long hair and periwigs and ribbons for tying the hair. These restrictions were a recognition of suitability rather than a rigid disapproval of all fine apparel, for a man of wealth and importance was expected to dress as became his position and the occasion, whereas extravagance was discouraged in the lower ranks. And lower ranks there were, for social lines were well defined. The use of tobacco was prohibited, though it is evident that with Salem ships trading in Virginia there was much smuggling and surreptitious use of the weed.

As Andover grew and her people developed, outlying sections of farm land came under cultivation and crops were produced beyond the needs of the farmers. Trading with other settlements made roads an urgent necessity. Salem, the market town, was also the shire town, and there was much travel between the two places.

In 1647 Nicholas Holt, John Osgood and Thomas Hale laid out the road between Andover and Haverhill. Grandsire built "Holt's Bridge" over the Shawshin and helped John Osgood bridge the Skug. He and Thomas Marshall built the road the latter lived on. Grandsire, John Osgood, and Thomas Hale viewed the Ipswich River four miles from Rowley as to the building of a bridge to afford better communication with the coast towns. It was decided to let Captain Keane and others build and maintain such a bridge in return for the privilege of laying out contiguous land. On October 17, 1661, every male of sixteen, the age of majority at that time, must help mend roads or pay a fine. In 1653 Nicholas Holt, Richard Barker, James Howe and John Rickard reported to the General Court on a comprehensive plan for road building in the township. Many so called roads were mere cart paths and it was necessary to cross private land, so rights of way were established and laws made as to gates being kept closed.

From 1671 Salem and Andover quarreled intermittently over their connecting road, Andover preferring, and wisely, the road past Will's Hill in Middleton while Salem favored a road to the east. Grandsire probably preferred the former route; at all events he must have travelled that way many times, for it led past Proctor's Corner in the part of Salem now West Peabody, near which lived the lady who became his third wife. From Proctor's the route swung east to come out to the south of the river in Salem village, now Danvers. So Grandsire avoided the Ipswich River in Middleton, Crane

River in Salem Village, and was not obliged to pay ferry fees at Endicott's Cow House now Danvers River.

Most people travelled afoot, and even Governor Bradstreet walked from Salem to Dover in 1641 on official business of the Colony. The Old Bay Road had been laid out the year previously, but this probably did not mean much more than a well blazed trail. Though it did not lie through forests, the long stretches of deep sand and marsh made hard plodding.

Andover was incorporated May 6, 1646, and the Indian name of Cochichawick was changed to Andover for the town in England from which many of the inhabitants had come. A letter from Doctor Bancroft in 1899 telling of a visit to Andover, England, speaks of a mural monument to a John Poorin, of the parish church, and of visiting Sutton Villa and Ripley Villa and seeing the names of Stevens and Phillips in the town registers. "Holt is a name which has only recently gone out."

Now that Andover was a town and taking her proper place in the "Commonweal", she must needs often entertain strangers. It was soon apparent that private hospitality was quite inadequate, so, as usually happened, the owners of the largest and finest houses applied for innholder's license. It was essential that the innkeeper be a man of sound integrity, as to him was intrusted the selling of liquor and maintaining the dignity of the community in many ways. A sharp quarrel arose between the two earliest innkeepers, John Osgood and William Chandler, when the former tried to have his rival disqualified. The community was greatly disturbed, but as most people seemed to feel that Osgood's charges were not substantiated, and petitions were sent to the Court in Chandler's behalf, the quarrel ended in favor of Mr. Chandler.

In his license an innholder agreed to give true measure and not to "permit, suffer or have any playing at Dice, Cards, Table Quoits, Laggets, Bowls, Ninepins, Billiards

or any other unlawful game or games in his house, yard, garden or backside." He also agreed "not to allow one to stay in his house after dark on Saturday or on the Sabbath unless he reported the same to the authorities in case of a stranger not well known to himself." No wine or liquor was to be sold to Indians or negroes and he was not to allow people to remain after midnight.

Weddings were often celebrated at the inns and the Puritan dearly loved plenty of gaiety as such fêtes. Dancing was at first allowed; but there was always an abundance of liquor, and as the two did not combine with more edifying results then than now, and the powers that ruled would not forego liquor, the young people were deprived of their dancing. The rigidity of the social life was not a question of character but was due to the clergy. Simon Bradstreet himself, a model as to character, had learned to dance "admirably well" as a young man, but of course bowed to the rule of the elders.

All this while Grandsire was extremely busy about his own affairs. About 1675, when the land around his house was not yet laid out, he had evidently attained his home on the hill, for an old paper speaks of the fence near the highway "going up" to it. Of course the farm lands must have been pretty well cleared by that time and with fences built, bogs drained, and land under tillage, we can assume that he must have been enjoying life fully.

Important changes were taking place in town with all sorts of industries starting and trade increasing and life broadening in many directions, for remote though Andover was from the coast and main lines of travel she had many advantages. Simon Bradstreet built the first mill on the Cochichawick, and in 1672 Edward Whittington was given permission to build a fulling mill, but he was drafted in 1675 to fight the Narragansets and the project fell through. It appears, however, that the Bullards did build one in 1689. There were iron works before 1700.

An attempt was made to build ships on the Merrimac when Major March was granted the privilege and was to be allowed to use felled timbers not suitable for posts or houses. He was also allowed to fell six pieces for masts or special uses. He too was called for active service in the Indian Wars and his right passed to Captain John Osgood. Henry Ingalls had a saw mill on Musquito Brook, and in 1680 Thomas Abbott, Lieutenant Sam Osgood, and John Abbott, Jr., Joseph and Henry Chandler had liberty to build a saw mill on Cochichawick Brook near the present site of the Andover Woolen Mills. Henry Holt had a saw mill on Ladle Meadow Brook.

The farmers took their corn to market, and the colonies sent fish, boards and pipe staves to Barbadoes, receiving in return sugar and tobacco which often were traded again with England for various commodities. It is interesting to know with reference to the trade in fish that Simon Bradstreet, who had trading interests in Barbadoes, was interested in the salt making industry of Edmund Burt, who had a large grant on the Lynn Marshes and a patent to make salt. The latter was also a ship owner, trading with Barbadoes, so one source of the Bradstreet prosperity is indicated. In 1696 there was a grant for a "ware for ye catching of fish" to Mr. Andrew Peters, Left., John Chandler, Left., Thomas Johnson, Sergeant John Aslebe, William Chandler, Sr., Andrew Foster, Henry Holt, Sr., Thomas Osgood, David Bigsbee and Walter Wright, Sr. Mr. Andrew Peters was a distiller and Mr. James Bridges owned a malt house before 1721.

All these new industrial ventures, as well as expanding farms, demanded many hands, and labor became a vexed question which the settlers tried to settle in several ways. In the homes none disdained to work, and frequently the daughter of one well-to-do citizen worked in the home of another equally prosperous but not as rich in

daughters. It was not such a disagreeable arrangement either, for though spinsterhood was a serious misfortune there were not many opportunities for social contacts among the young people of different sections. To be sure, Hannah Osgood, who had been the first baby born in the town, married Samuel Archer, Jr., of Salem, whose family was of the ruling circle, and Hannah Holt married Robert Gray, a seaman also of Salem, but probably a good many girls escaped the monotony of marrying a brother's or sister's brother-in-law by going to work in a different neighborhood.

Once in a great while a happy spinster survived. A notable example was Priscilla Abbott, daughter of John, who lived to within a few weeks of a hundred years and nursed the sick in many an Andover household. Her grand-niece Sarah, daughter of Ephraim Abbott, was even more emancipated. She worked for Honorable Samuel Phillips and after his death worked the farm and raised a nursery of a thousand trees, grafting and marketing them herself. So it is plain that it was through no lack of ability that the colonial woman was usually in the background.

In the industries and on the farms Indians were tried out as helpers. Not only were they strange to the ways of the white man and averse to the orderly drudgery by which he sought advancement, but the races were fundamentally antagonistic. Despite spasmodic attempts to civilize and Christianize the savage, the Puritans hated and feared the red men, believed the Indians to be the children of the Devil and often possessed of especially powerful evil spirits. So this source of labor was not often productive of good results.

Slavery is not usually associated with the Bay Colony in the minds of strangers, and there are certain topics of conversation which are not considered good form in seaport towns, but it is the painful truth that black as well

as other ivory sometimes came in the holds of the old merchantmen. In Andover the Bradstreets, Osgoods, Rev. John Barnard, Mr. Benjamin Stevens, John Abbott, James Bridges and Rev. Samuel Phillips were among the slave owners. These slaves were usually house and personal servants and could scarcely be considered as a factor in the problem of labor. They were as a matter of fact rather a symbol of wealth and rank in many cases, and were as well treated for the most part as the system permitted. Slaves were owned throughout the first century of the colony, but to our credit be it said that we take no pride in the memory nor do the descendants of those who imported or owned slaves seek to gloss the fact with sentimentalities.

The system of bondsmen or apprenticeship was the one which eventually proved best adapted to conditions. A man often bound out his son to a skilled craftsman, and children not fortunately placed were often provided for in this way with splendid results. On May 20, 1671, Grandsire consented to the apprenticeship of Jacob Preston, the son of his third wife. In such cases the legal rights of the apprentice were carefully safeguarded, and though the indenture might be transferred it was usually with the bondsman's consent.

Before the writer is an indenture which gives a perfect example of the system at its best. In it the apprentice engages that he, "his master or mistress faithfully shall serve, their secrets keep, their lawful commands shall gladly everywhere obey, he shall do no damage to his master or mistress or see it to be done by others without letting or giving notice thereof to said master or mistress, he shall not waste his said master or mistress goods nor lend them unlawfully to any, he shall not commit fornication or contract matrimony within the said term, at cards, dice or any other unlawful game he shall not play—he shall not absent himself by day or night from his master

or mistress service without their leave nor haunt ale houses or taverns or playhouses but in all things behave himself as a faithful apprentice ought to do toward his master and mistress."

In this case the master agreed to "teach or instruct or cause to be instructed in the trade of a husbandman and by the best way or means he may or can if the apprentice be capable to learn and to give the said apprentice at the end of term fifty acres of land—finding unto said apprentice good and sufficient meat and drink, washing and lodging, and to do for him in sickness and in health and to learn him to read and write and cipher to the rule of three—to dismiss him with two suits of apparel, one for Sabbath Days and one for working days suitable for such an apprentice."

The darker aspect of the system is shown in instances of youths kidnaped in the old world and forcibly transported. One planter in Virginia earned many a rich grant of land in this way and is credited with the transporting of several settlers of Andover. Edmund Abbott, Job Chandler, John Marshall, Robert Bailey and Robert Russell are among these involuntary immigrants. Since many Holts also derive from Robert Russell it is interesting to know that this first Scotchman in Andover is believed to have been the victim of the greed of an uncle who desired to rid himself of the boy and to possess the estate that should have come to him from his father.

Andover's remoteness from other settlements was in a measure offset by the fact that Governor Simon Bradstreet was an early settler and for many years a resident of the town. During his almost continuous service as governor, noted and influential men visited him, and because of this and through his visits to other colonies and to England, valuable knowledge of the progress and thought of the outer world came to the little country village.

The influence of such a man as this probably saved the town from many a mistake of policy and doubtless accounts in great measure for the way in which life flowed peacefully along for many years lacking any of the upsetting incidents of other settlements. Simon Bradstreet combined a fine sense of justice with a true desire to do his duty as a Christian and as head of the Commonwealth. He was possessed of shrewd business judgment and a real gift of diplomacy, tolerance of the beliefs of others, and great moderation, judged by the standard of his own time as he should be. With all these qualities he was absolutely fearless in defending his convictions and had a remarkable gift for leadership.

Socially also Mr. Bradstreet was an asset for he was well educated and trained in the social amenities beyond most of the settlers. His wife, who was a poetess, was famed as the first woman of the new country to have had her writings published, and was much sought by the learned and cultured of the colony. Since she was a "home body", Andover again profited by the contacts made.

For years the Bay Colony had managed to maintain a surprising degree of detachment from the rule and political entanglements of the mother country. England was much too busy with affairs at home to inquire too closely into the struggles of a somewhat pert offspring who could lend no aid to a parent and was not encouraged to seek help from home.

The reins tightened, however, when Charles the Second ascended the throne, and one of the first evidences of a change came when delegates were summoned to England to answer to a charge of cruelty to the Quakers on the part of colonial magistrates. Simon Bradstreet was one of the two delegates and it was largely his diplomacy that smoothed out an alarming situation and averted for a time the threatened revocation of the charter.

Later the blow fell; with the revocation New England came under the despotism of the royal Governor, Andros; and the years from 1685-1689 were a time of great strain and suspense. Tension became indignation and indignation grew to rage when Governor Andros ruled that a settlement could call but one town meeting in a year, for here he struck at the very foundation of colonial liberty and independence. Simon Bradstreet spurned an offered councillorship, and Dudley Bradstreet was one of the prominent men imprisoned for refusing to collect the exorbitant taxes exacted of the people.

Revolt was very near when on April 4, 1689, news came of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England. We can imagine the pride of Andover when her old neighbor, now eighty-seven years old, led the demonstration against the tyrant, and on April 19, 1689, set the example for that other April day in 1775 by leading the militia in the overthrow of Andros and signing his name first of the signers to this earliest declaration of Independence.

The reins once tightened were never loosed, however, and the desire for independence grew in the hearts of the colonists. As Rufus Choate said in 1834, "with one kind of weapon or another, on one field or another, on one class of question or another a struggle was kept up from the landing on Plymouth Rock to the surrender at Yorktown."

Andover, composed of men of intelligence, who were susceptible to wise leadership, was never backward in any forward movement or thought.

In spite of her contacts with the outer world and the fortunate superiority of her citizenry, Andover was geographically a frontier town, and while her settlers became more prosperous and complacent the race they had displaced was beginning to realize the true meaning of

the white man's invasion. Even with a sincere desire to deal fairly with the Indians, dissention was inevitable, and the white man's insatiable greed for land was carrying him further and further into the lands of the first owners. Of course the colonists had suffered from the depredations of the Indians from the very first, and many a man went forth to hunt and became prey. Averse though the Puritans were to military drill, they early formed trained bands and the exigencies of daily life developed good marksmanship.

After nearly a half century the Indians' resentment reached a climax and their cause found a leader when "King Phillip", Sachem of the Wampanoags, formed a league of the New England tribes and prepared for war. A panic of fear resulted, and on October 28, 1675, Major Dennison reported from Ipswich to the council at Boston that Topsfield and Andover were affrighted by hostile Indians. From that time on for years Andover had her share of suffering and fighting. That very November, on the twelfth, Andover men were impressed for the expedition against the Narragansetts and were engaged in the famous and victorious swamp fight. Nine of them shared in the division of the Narragansett's land among the victors.

Twelve houses, chosen for strength and strategic position, were designated as garrisons, soldiers assigned to each, and the settlers instructed as to their posts in one or the other at the first alarm. Some men who had been ordered to go to Woburn were not sent when John Osgood petitioned the council and convinced them that Andover needed all her defenders. A ridiculous project was planned by the General Court for building an eight foot fence from the Charles River to the Concord in Billerica and thence to the bay enclosing twenty towns. This was obviously the idea of a man who had never swung an axe and knew nothing of the country. Andover

naturally demurred and insisted that her bays and marshes were her best protection if sufficient guards could be provided.

On April eighth the Indians at last attacked the town and took revenge for the Swamp Fight by killing one veteran of the battle, Joseph Abbott, who died while striving to defend a young brother. The sacrifice was almost in vain, for the boy was carried off and only recovered through the kindness of a squaw who took pity on his mother and brought him back half starved. Queerly enough this boy returned to the Indian lands later as one of a group of Andover men who colonized Pentacook, afterwards Concord, New Hampshire. Roger Marks, Grandsire's son-in-law, was wounded in this raid.

Now indeed came a period of terror. In earlier days it had been hard enough to know that at any time a peaceful settler going about his or her daily round might be picked off by a lurking savage. Here was organized a powerful hatred based upon an authentic grievance and with a skilled leader. All work was made so hazardous that the pitiful little group on the shores of the Merrimac faced famine as well as momentary invasion from the many fordable points in that river. John Osgood again became spokesman and assured the General Court that Andover must have adequate defense or be abandoned. Relief came and a squadron of guards was placed across the country to which each settlement contributed men. Andover might have suffered much more in these early wars had it not been for the efficient aid of Major Dennison, Sergeant Major of the Essex regiment, who was the brother-in-law of both Mrs. Simon Bradstreet and Mrs. John Woodbridge. Along with pride in his military honor Major Dennison cherished a very deep anxiety for the safety of the lives and homes of his kinsmen. As it was, Andover was really far "more scared than hurt", and came out of the earlier wars with

comparatively little loss of life; and her property loss was negligible as compared with many other settlements.

The spring of 1692 found the villagers peacefully active with plans for the spring planting and hopeful of a quiet, prosperous season, little dreaming that a single act of one of their number would soon plunge them into the most hideous nightmare of madness and grief that ever befell a Christian people.

Joseph Ballard's wife had been sick so long that Joseph became disgusted with the futile attempts at cure of doctors and neighbors and decided to summon one of the young Salem girls who were making such a sensation by detecting witches. Two girls came, accused certain townspeople of practicing witchcraft, and the town was at once mad with excitement.

In this crisis it was most unfortunate that the one man who might have held the people of Andover in check had moved away. After the destruction of his loved home and the death of his beloved wife, Governor Bradstreet had given his new home to his son Dudley and in 1692 was residing in Salem.

Miss Bailey speaks of the great governor as being a man who delighted in the oppression of Quakers and witches, but in this she is not supported by the opinions of his contemporaries or by the most accurate historians of that period. One of the most highly credited of these says of Mr. Bradstreet, "old as he was he made known his entire disapprobation of the witchcraft persecutions." "It is safe to say that if he had not been superceded by the arrival of Sir William Phipps as a governor under the new charter they would never have taken place." And again, "Simon Bradstreet passed sentence on Elizabeth Morse as an unavoidable act of official duty and prevented the execution of the sentence by the courageous use of his prerogative in defiance of public clamor and the wrath of the representatives of the

whole people of the colony." The trial referred to was held in the First Church at Boston, May 20, 1680.

Twice before 1692 Governor Bradstreet had voted alone to prevent Massachusetts Bay Colony from action which would be unjust and unwise. He was the only man who voted against death sentence for Quakers, and he opposed his will against the vote of every Commissioner of the United Colonies when they desired to declare war with the Dutch because of the attack of Ninnegret on the Rhode Island Indians.

There is no formal statement of the aged leader to sum up his attitude in 1692, but his reply to the Commissioners in the Dutch incident is the clearest and most concise revelation of the man's character and philosophy of life that could be desired. Andover's greatest man wrote, "I earnestly request that due regard may be had to the judgments and consciences of others, pious and prudent, that are so deeply concerned heerin and that in case of blood; and though att present wee cannot all be like minded, that yett an Christian moderation may appear so in other respects, soe espetially in refference to an offensive war with Indians or others 'til the mind of God doe more fully appear. Remembering it will bee noe grief or hurt to any of us when we come to give up our accounts that wee have neither sheed blood causelessly nor drawne others to do it upon grounds not clear to them however possibly satisfactory to yourselves."

The spirit of the man was undaunted but at ninety he lacked the physical strength and political power of the time when he had won his battles single handed; and his son, though inheriting his character and fearlessness, did not have the magnificent power of personality and gift of leadership that had been his father's.

In any attempt to understand this period it is necessary to remember that belief in demonology was inherent in the thought of the time and in the mental in-

heritance of the Puritan. The confinement of power to a small circle had robbed the other settlers of initiative. Those who had doubts and might have hesitated at bloodshed lacked leadership, and their own convictions and courage were not strong enough to face such fanatical furor and the consequent danger to themselves and families.

The enthusiasm of Mr. Parris, the Salem minister, who, lacking utterly any sensibility in himself, could not recognize or credit such weakness in others, was a contributory cause of the brutality displayed. Jonathan Sewall was not merciless enough to satisfy entirely the the half crazed girls who, feeling that in his persecution of their tormentors he lacked severity, cried out upon his mother. John Hawthorne satisfied the most vindictive. To Chief Justice Stoughton, however, belongs the bitter distinction of making death almost inevitable for anyone brought to trial. There was a division of opinion on one point, one party maintaining that the Devil could manifest himself only through those in league with him, another group holding the belief that the Devil could use as tools any whom he chose to use, even those who were innocent and even unknowing of any evil. Stoughton's dogmatic insistence on the latter belief and his charge to juries that they must accept this dogma as fact in the consideration of evidence decided the fate of the witches.

The inevitable envies and jealousies of civil and political rivalries, the disappointment of many who had hoped for easy riches and resented the fact that caste and control of power had survived transplantation to the new world and were not to be easily wrested from the ruling group,—all these hates found vent in the unparalleled opportunity to obtain revenge under the guise of Godliness.

At the beginning of the trials the law of the Bay

Colony had no statute which made the practice of witchcraft a capital offense; therefore, it must have been necessary to invoke the King James statute. In reviving this law June 18 immediately after the Bishop trial the General Court assumed that the proceedings at Salem were provincial matters for which the immediate vicinity was not responsible, but the legislatures, clergy and people of the Country at large.

With the stage all set, Cotton Mather saw the opportunity which would carry him on a wave of fanatical delusion to the dominance of clerical and spiritual power in America and elsewhere. His political aspirations were unbounded, while the height of his immediate ambition was to become president of Harvard. His father, Increase, while seeking to hold in check the son, seems to have been no more admirable, and his canny care to look for the safest hummocks in the swamp of social disruption makes one loathe him almost as deeply as we do his more radical offspring.

When Phillip English, "perhaps the richest man in America," escaped with his wife from Boston with the knowledge and connivance of the authorities, and when Dudley Bradstreet because of his remissness in the duties of prosecutor was accused of conspiracy and forced with his brother John to flee, Cotton Mather did nothing to hinder them. When these men of great possessions, fearless courage, and powerful friends vanished, the righteous Mather suffered an acute attack of blindness. He quickly desisted from his attempt to persuade Mary English that she was the innocent tool of the Devil. This erstwhile friend has been called "the most brilliant and best educated woman who comes down to us from Colonial days," and it was much easier to browbeat humble Martha Carrier than the heiress of the Holingsworths.

With the trials of August 22 the craze had reached its height. With the accusation of some of the best and

most influential citizens, including Governor Phipp's wife, the realization of fatal folly came to the blood-satiated populace. A wave of revulsion and emotional exhaustion fell upon the colony with such suddenness as is unparalleled in history.

Governor Phipps, whose wife had suffered because of her sympathy for the persecuted, quickly recognized the change in public sentiment and prepared to change with the wind, but Cotton Mather rallied his cohorts, whose personnel had suddenly dwindled to the calibre of the blithe Mr. Parris, who was enjoying himself to the top of his bent. Officials tacked and trimmed sail and the ship of state righted itself. To be sure trials went on half heartedly until May of 1693, but there were no more convictions, and "the proceedings was probably effectually secured by the spirited course of certain parties of Andover who at the first moment of its appearing that the public sentiment was changing commenced actions for slander against the accusers."

When Governor Phipps by proclamation discharged all prisoners, 150 were set free theoretically, but the inability of some to pay charges of court and board for full time of imprisonment prolonged their imprisonment.

In the difficult readjustments of the years following, the natural reticence of the people and their habit of self-discipline stood them in good stead. Strangers often complain that comparatively little intimate knowledge comes down to us from this period. In many people's veins flow the blood of accused and accuser, and for this reason alone it was necessary to forgive and forget. That the people of Essex County went on living with each other simply and, so far as was humanly possible, peacefully, may seem strange, even queer, to the glib tourist who hails the first Salemite he sees with, "Can you tell me just where you burned the witches?" But the native with grim courtesy directs the tourist to the place where witches

were hanged and speechlessly longs for the attributed gifts of long dead forbears.

In the outskirts of the shire town of Essex is Gallows, formerly "Witch," Hill. On its summit at midnight of the eve of Independence Day it has been the custom of many years to light a huge fire. To this flock tens of thousands from every port of the Commonwealth. Lower down on the slope of the hill is a scar in the rock, a narrow ravine. Few Salemites ever visit this place, but it was in this ravine that the bodies of the slain witches were thrown. To this place came the families of the dead, who carried their loved ones to boats waiting in North River near by and thus spirited them away for decent though secret burial.

The old city of Salem bears the burden of the shame of Essex for this most dreadful chapter in a nation's story, but the fire on the hill is quite as symbolic of the spirit of the grand old county as is the scar which the kindlier spirit overlooks in the ravine.

After the subsidence of the Witchcraft Craze, and before the colonies became deeply involved in the war between France and England, came a period which might easily have been slightly monotonous. But when the Puritan was hard put for excitement there was always religion to fall back upon, with the choice of persecuting some dissenter from the usual tenets of faith or of disagreeing in the church itself. Andover for many years was more united in spirit than was usual in the colony, in part because of a fortunate choice of a minister.

This first minister, John Woodbridge, was an Oxford graduate and a man of great ability in a broad field of activities. As a surveyor of arms, justice of peace, master of Boston Latin School, Indian trader, and religious teacher, he acquired a sympathetic understanding of many view points which fitted him for leadership. At one time he was Chaplain of the Commissioners who

treated with the exiled Charles the First on the Isle of Wight, and after the Restoration was very naturally banished to New England, fortunately for Andover.

The next pastor was Reverend Francis Dane, whose pastorate of forty-eight years would appear from the church records to have been an era of idyllic harmony and brotherly love. Actually Andover staged a perfectly typical New England church row as a valedictory to the poor man. First they appointed an assistant to their aged pastor and then discontinued his salary. The General Court interfered finally and sent a committee to straighten out the matter. Fortunately Mr. Dane possessed a wonderful power of endurance and forgiveness. He was greatly loved by his assistant, Mr. Barnard, who succeeded him when he died at the age of eighty-one.

After Mr. Dane's death in 1697, Andover decided that it needed a new meeting house; and whoever heard of building a new house of God without setting the whole parish by the ears. Not in New England. Andover enjoyed to the fullest extent the battle which waged over location, size, architecture, cost, and contributors, until finally the South part of the town, now the most populated, decided to break away and build its own meeting house. A petition for permission to separate was granted by the General Court in 1709 with the order that each parish should provide a meeting house, Mr. Barnard to choose which flock he should serve as pastor. As Mr. Barnard refrained from making a choice the new parish called Samuel Phillips and voted him sixty pounds a year salary.

The Court recommended that the North Parish should use the old meeting house but the inhabitants erected a building almost as large as had been planned for the entire town. Mr. Barnard, meanwhile, behaved with such dignity as endeared him greatly to his parishioners and to the pastor of the new parish, and paved

the way for his son who succeeded him and served the North Parish for thirty-eight years. Thus the two pastorates extended over a period of seventy-five years.

Mr. Barnard finished his education before Harvard conferred degrees, but his son was graduated there, as was also Mr. Phillips. The latter came of a line of distinguished ministers. His great-grandfather was the Reverend George, and his grandfather, the immigrant, was the Reverend Samuel of Watertown, who was so dearly loved that his parishioners educated his son at Harvard as a testimonial of their regard. The latter, the pastor of Ipswich, married Sarah Appleton, whose father, Major Appleton, was one of the influential men of the Bay Colony and deeply religious. So Reverend Samuel of Andover inherited his talent and when in the next generation a Samuel Phillips married Elizabeth Barnard and united two fine races, it is not to be wondered at that the family became one of the leading strains in the country.

The South Parish sometimes questioned the orthodoxy of Mr. Barnard, though he stood firmly against the revivalistic tactics of Whitefield, and headed the list of two Neighborhood Associations of Ministers who protested to the ministers of Boston and Charlestown who admitted Whitefield to their pulpits.

The South Parish retained the original name, and the original settlement became North Andover. The first meeting of the new parish was "warned" by John Abbott, Joseph Ballard, George Abbott, Francis Dane, John Russ and William Lovejoy, and was held June 20, 1709 with Henry Holt as moderator and George Abbott as clerk. The church stood near the site of the present Centre School on the west side of Rogers Brook. Thirty-five members came from the North Parish.

On June 6, 1732 a committee consisting of Barachious Farnum, Benjamin Abbott, Jedadiah Chandler, Timothy

Moor, Deacon Nehemiah Abbott and John Chandler were appointed to build a meeting house on Rogers Hill. Mr. Phillips preached the first sermon in it on May 19, 1734. After much discussion the seating was determined by the age and amount of money possessed by the seatholders.

The Honorable Josiah Quincy says of a visit to this church, "It is surrounded by horse blocks innumerable with a disproportionate number of sheds. It had three lofty stories with three galleries. In the left hand gallery sat the ladies, in the right the gentlemen, in the midst of whom and in front sat the tything man with his white pole three or four cubits in length. And in a square box in front of the pulpit sat the deacons one of whom carefully took the heads of the preachers discourse. In the front row sat the Precenter with his pitch pipe."

It is interesting to see that the Reverend Mr. Phillips made sure that his salary was paid and did not hesitate to remind his parishioners when it fell in arrears. Which demonstrates the value of inherited knowledge and a college degree. College degrees were beginning to be sought more widely among the people and later on Nicholas Holt's third son Nathan was graduated from Harvard and installed in Danvers. There he became the friend of Dr. William Bentley, one of the noted men of New England, and the greatest scholar of the new world in his time, who often mentions Mr. Holt in his famous diary.

While polite civil war waged in Andover, the French and English were again at odds, and with the declaration of war the colonies were inevitably drawn in. With the recruiting of the Indians by both sides tragedy had indeed come to New England.

On May 14, 1690 Governor Phipps planned for defense of the frontier towns and eighty troopers were detached from the Essex County regiment and placed

under Major Robert Pike and Captain Thomas Chandler of Andover to go to the defense of Concord, Bradford, Andover, Dunstable, Chelmsford, Groton, Lancaster and Marleborough, each of which towns was to send out two good scouts each day. And now for many years to come the colonies were at war with the Indians, French, or both. During these days the colonies were learning the lessons which would later make them masters instead of pupils.

From the English they learned drilling and handling of troops, and from the French the art of defense against skilled troops, but from the Indian they learned scouting and woodcraft, became familiar with the topography of the country and tricks of warfare not known to civilized troops. This knowledge, with the marksmanship learned as a part of daily life, made it possible to make a stand in the Revolution against forces immeasurably better equipped but which were often confounded by the tactics of foes who fired "from behind each fence and barnyard wall."

The French and Indian War was the first cause in which the mother country and her colonies were bound by a common interest and united against a common foe, for New England dreaded the encroachment of the neighbor on the north. England had not been greatly disturbed by the sufferings and struggles for supremacy over the Indians. After all the native of England who knew nothing of savages could not be expected to be unduly excited over the hardships of eccentric strangers whom he probably regarded as disgruntled cranks. If they elected to leave England and immigrate to such a heathen country they must "dree their werd." But now France was claiming a slice of what was proving to be a rich possession and England saw these same colonists as an important factor in the fight.

Once before when the Mason and Georges claims

had threatened the loss of territory as far south as Salem, Andover had been much disturbed, but this menace was far more serious and far reaching. It is an interesting trait in the forefathers that their cry was ever land and again more land. The reason is obvious. It was not foresight so much as instinct on the part of the Puritan, for landholding had ever been the symbol of wealth and power and most of the colonists had never possessed either. Again younger sons of the English landed gentry possessed a little money and hoped to establish themselves as the heads of powerful branches of their families in this new world. These assumed priority of right. As soon as they established claims in one plantation their eyes turned longingly to the unsettled wastes. The English, though the greatest of colonizers, do not take as kindly to intensive farming as do other races; in fact, they do not crave manual labor, to put it conservatively. And the Puritan was proud, very proud; in fact, if the meek had inherited the earth literally at that period in the division, each New Englander would have inherited six feet—for burial purposes. Oh yes, New England would help Old England fight France!

So it was again, "to arms"! In Andover the captains of militia were Captains Timothy Johnson, George Abbott, Joseph Sibson, Nathaniel Frye, James Stevens. The latter commanded a company at the capture of Louisburg and James Frye was also in that engagement. Sixteen Andover men died of wounds and sickness at Louisburg. Thomas Holt was one of the North Essex men provided with snow shoes for an expedition into the north country.

In February 1697-8 old reckoning, came the most disastrous attack ever made on Andover by Indians, occasioned by their desire for vengeance on Captain Roscoe Chubb for his treachery and needless cruelty while commander of Fort Pemaquid in 1693. His home was attacked and he

and his wife were killed. Governor Bradstreet's home was burned with its priceless heirlooms and rare library and a kinsman named Wade slain. Two other houses and barns were burned and the cattle driven off. The Bradstreets were taken away but were released because of some kindnesses to Indians in the past. Jonathan Hains and Samuel Ladd were killed and their eldest sons carried away into captivity. Young Hains escaped, making his second deliverance from Indians in two years. Timothy Johnson's home was attacked and his daughter Penelope killed.

The taking of Louisburg was the occasion for great rejoicing. After the taking of Grand Pré, a number of Acadians were brought to the colony and some were assigned to Andover. Major Frye was at the burning of Grand Pré, and his account shows a humanity and kindness of heart which was not emulated by his townspeople. One can imagine the treatment accorded to Papists by a community which was none too lenient to its own people. The horrors of 1692 had not softened the Puritan hearts and they joyfully seized the opportunity for oppressing these helpless ones of a different race. Families were separated and children bound out as servants.

It is not probable that these Acadians were more kindly treated by those of their own race, for the French in New England were Protestants through adhering to the faith of the church of England. The Huguenots' best friend in America, Phillip English or Langlois, who was truly tolerant and who might have befriended them, had joined the wife who died of her captivity during the Witchcraft period. But an occasional family endeared themselves to their new neighbors and there are several names in Andover which may be traced to the Acadian captives. And the race was not to be despised, for the peaceful farms of Longfellow's poem were

snatched from the waves and fought for against heavy odds by a people possessing pride, perseverance, and determination equal to the Puritan's own. Driving through the old county, one often sees a great willow, and the memory is recalled of the group of these trees, so loved by the Acadian, far away on the dyke lands of the north. The willow followed the French as the elm followed the English.

Thus Andover, our small cross section of the new world, assimilated, though no doubt grudgingly, influences from other lands and was the better for the mingling. She never lost entirely a certain physical remoteness lent by swamps and meadows; and her air of spaciousness has never been spoiled by over population or industrial development.

Today one may, if he wishes, approach Grandsire's domain through bogs and briars over almost deserted trails without meeting any stranger to disturb a reminiscent mood.

From the crest of the hill the scene is far different from the one Grandsire gazed on so many, many years ago. The tiny settlement has become a splendid town, part of a great Commonwealth whose cities are visible for miles around. The lordly Merrimac and the humbler Shawshin now boast of great mills whose products add no insignificant amount to the wealth of a nation.

Grandsire could not have foreseen all this but his vision was far and clear and steady. Through all the years of his life there is no record of unkindness, of dissension with his neighbors; no oppression of the weak or of truckling to the powerful. All through his life he held true to his ideal of honest toil and modest reward. We think of him, in those later years, not idling by the fireside, but running his own pet project down on

Ladle Meadow Brook where he turned out wooden ladles and dishes for his family and neighbors. He had seen his family well established on the new soil and he had instilled in them his own fine, well wearing qualities.

He had nothing to regret and much to rejoice in; and down in Ladle Meadow, as on the crest of the hill, Grandsire was content.

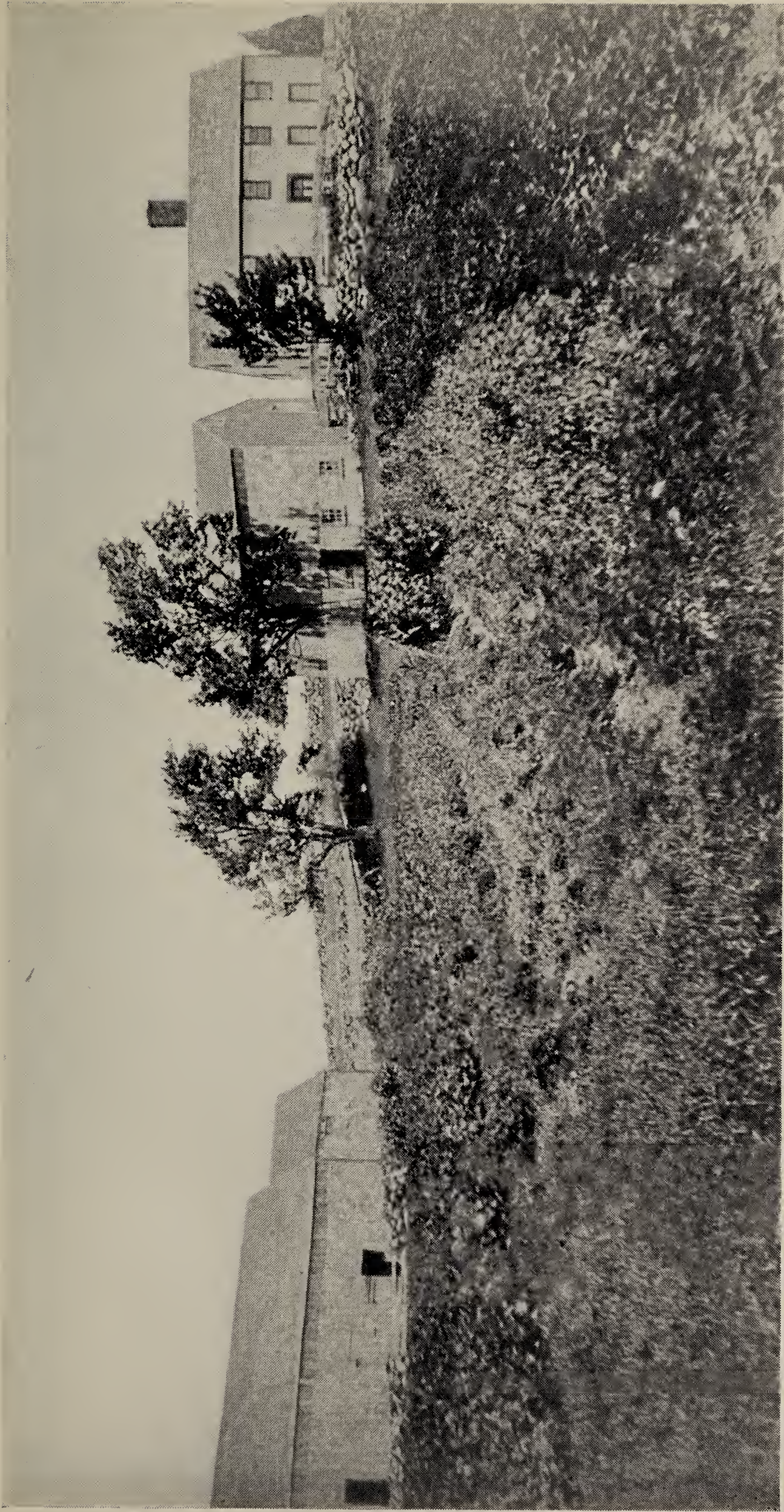
CONCERNING THE FARM HOUSE ON HOLT'S HILL

Several years ago one of our largest magazines organized an "Own your own Home" campaign which stimulated and informed the whole wide country. The culmination of months of publicity was the balloting, of all interested, for the best type of house for the would-be-home-owner:—the house that would best express thrift, comfort, and dignity for the average family. The climax came when the house so chosen was erected in Washington! There it stands today on a broad street between the White House and the Lincoln Memorial; and it is used as Headquarters for Girl Scouts.

This present day choice of house is the same used in the colonies since 1700, and the first one of that type erected in Andover was built on Holt's Hill by Nicholas Holt, home-builder.

This model was used continuously for more than a hundred years, and so popular was it and so enduring, that today, when we leave Andover by the old time highways to Danvers and Salem or Reading or Lexington, we pass these houses by the score, all hale and habitable but often so altered to present day needs that it takes a long look at chimney and roof line to make the identity sure.

A well-known critic says of the architecture of our early period, "It was a product of nature rather than



Farm house on Holt Hill, Andover, Mass. Photo from original owned by Jenkins, taken about 1870. Nicholas Holt¹, born in England, came to Newbury, then to Andover, Holt Hill. The house built by Nicholas² (1647-1715), given by will to his son Nicholas³ (1683-1756, who married Mary Manning born——— died 1716). 1717 Dorcas Abbott (born 1697—died 1758). Owned and farmed by Nicholas Holt and descendants 1715-1880. Now owned and occupied by Charles W. Ward, eight generations from Nicholas¹.

art, born of the necessities of our Puritans and Pioneers. Using the materials nearest at hand, the homes had that kind of inevitable structural beauty, that perfect adaption of means to end, which belongs to the bird's-nest or the beaver's dam."

Nicholas III (1693-1756) probably began to build the house on Holt Hill after his marriage to Mary Manning in 1708; and it was finished before 1715, when after his father's death the will made him full owner of the house and farm.

Before this the family had owned the hill for sixty years and had lived in two other houses, the locations of which are legendary. By this time, they knew where the slope gave shelter from the north winds of winter, and where the sun lay warmest in the lengthening spring days.

The work on the cellar must have been long and heavy; it was well dug, under the front rooms and the larger part of the "lean-to"; it was carefully faced up with boulders which were all too plentiful in the tillage fields,—some of the base stones are 5-6 feet long.

The chimney of hand made bricks ($8\frac{1}{2}$ ") is well cemented and built over in a generous arched closet for winter storage of apples and vegetables.

About six feet above the floor of this cellar, beams for the floors above were built into the brick of the chimney, 11" x 8" oak, the outer ends resting on the cellar wall which also held the sills for the house. The top course of stone was of dressed granite.

This house, by the usual custom, was built four square to the compass and faced due south. It is entered by a wide center door into a small hall or entry, with the kitchen on the right and a fore room on the left. These rooms were about 16 feet square,—at the rear, a lean to, for wood-shed and general use.

From the entry the stairs go up with two square turns to the two ample bed rooms; and the attic above is high enough to allow the use of a spinning wheel. Floor beams are of oak 10" and 12" square (some even 14" x 10"), roof beams 6" square—the old pine floors are of planks, many 16" and 17" wide—SW bedroom floor is still unpainted. A closet door is from 23½" board; all these must have been of virgin growth trees from the farm. At first, the outer walls were of single heavy planks, beveled to overlap, and the cracks filled with mud or plaster. Judging by the weathered color of these, the house was used in that way for many years.

For the first fifty years the history of the farm is the story of mother and daughter. Dorcas (1697-1758), or Dorcas the first as we like to call her, was twenty years old, when in 1717 she came to the new home as a bride. And she must have been stout of heart and capable of hand, for the house was remote from neighbors—with the south Andover settlement 2½ miles and the Andover 3½ miles away.

In her mother's girlhood the bounty was still paid on wolves and the Witchcraft delusion at its height—her brother and cousins were summoned to give evidence against Goody Carrier, who was tried and hung in Salem Village as a Witch.

The once friendly Indians had been abused into treachery and warfare. Neighbors were killed during her childhood and the new parsonage building in North Andover was even then fortified, and the town was voting moneys for the upkeep of four Block Houses. Nicholas III (1683-1756) had been a widower more than a year, and his mother had died only ten days before his marriage to Dorcas.

From the first there were four step-children from two to twelve years old to be cared for, and as time

moved on, six children of her own were added. Everything used in a farmer's family was made at home—wool for clothing was grown, washed, carded, spun, and woven; candles and soap made, and food provided for the vigorous family indoors, and the "brute family" in the barn—which included chickens and calves, lambs and pigs.

The road to the village was a winding lane, and Dorcas' only diversion was the Sabbath Day trip to the meeting house, on a pillion behind her husband. At church she sat on the "women's side" in an unheated building, and listened to a two hour sermon in the morning, ate a cold lunch, and heard another sermon in the afternoon. Dorcas and her daughter Dorcas Second signed legal papers with an X mark. So reading and writing were a rare accomplishment, and the house wives probably depended largely on those sermons for mind food.

Nicholas (I) had been one of ten to put his cross mark on the first Church Charter signed in Andover—now North Andover—December 24, 1645. The town and its church flourished and increased until 1708, when South Andover wished a church of its own. Andover objected so strongly that the General Court (in Boston) was appealed to and they ruled for the separation.

Nicholas (III) and Dorcas I remained in the Andover church till the death of the old Pastor, Mr. Barnard, in 1718, then they joined the South Parish Church. They must have been welcome new comers and must have trained their ten children in pious and devout ways—for most of the boys became deacons and the girls all married deacons. The South Church records give names of 153 Holts who were church members between 1718 and 1860.

Their third son, Nathan, (1725-1792) was minister at the church in Danvers, where the record says "his labors were highly praised and productive."

The fifth child, Joshua, (1730-1810) was deacon at South Church thirty-five years and "his twelve children were all baptised the Sabbath following their birth, and most strictly brought up." He represented Andover at the General Court in Boston for twenty-one years—and his son Joshua had a notable record as officer in the Revolution.

Timothy, (1721-1801) was the eldest child, and executor of Nicholas III's will in 1756. He was "the well beloved son", who for over twenty-five years had worked for and with his father and at the end he was heir "to all my land in Andover including orchard, pasture, mowing ground, and tillage ground, all my tools as belong to man's use with two-thirds of 'my brute creatures' of every name and kind."

The inventory shows a cow, a riding horse, and two yoke of oxen. Two yoke of oxen, by record and tradition, were kept on the place and used for farm work as late as 1876. Today there are over seven miles of stone walls, and a wall means a deep foundation of boulders below, beside the big gray stones above the ground.

Abby Farwell Brown writes of these in "The Heart of New England":

"What is a wall to me?
Has it no beauty more than eyes can see?
Lo, I remember how in days of old
A grandsire toiled in weariness and pain,
To dig the clumsy boulders from the mould;
Piled them in ordered rows again,
Fitting them firm and fast,
A monument to last
Long after his own harried past.
He cleared the rocky soil for corn and grain
By which his children thrive
To carry on the race."

In the forty years that Dorcas was housewife there was great increase in worldly goods—in the inventory we find linen sheets and pillow cases, books, pewter, and glass.

Now she was “widow Holt”, and this same will gave her “the eastward end of my dwelling house, from the top of the chimney to the floor of the cellar, together with half my household goods such as belong to woman’s use—also four cyder barrels and one-third the real estate.”

Dorcas watched the sun rise from her eastern room for only two years after Nicholas’ death. Then Timothy and his wife Elizabeth became full owners of the farm.

Timothy Holt lived on at the farm nine years; then he sold and went to live in Wilton, New Hampshire, where the daughters were married.

Thomas Holt was the new owner—price paid was 482 pounds for homestead and thirty acres. Thomas had married Dorcas, younger sister of Timothy, and so our “Dorcas Second” came back to the farm home of her childhood, bringing her five children; and the youngest son, Joseph, was born the next year.

By her father’s will Dorcas II had inherited one-quarter the furniture, and as brother Timothy’s move to Wilton was four to six days’ journey by ox team, we may fancy that many of the larger things remained at the farm.

Thomas owned the blacksmith shop on Salem Street opposite the present Gray Homestead and a grist mill below on the brook. And he bought more and more acres until he became the largest land owner in town, and he could walk a mile N and S and E and W from the house, still all on his own land.

Dorcas II owned the first gig in town and the hill

bred horse took so quick a pace that the village children would shout, "Look out, here comes Aunt Dorcas."

Probably at this time the house was lathed and plastered—the lathes were all hand split and a new inner wall was built to cover the side beams of ceiling—only excepting the one overhead in center of the room, this was covered: the rooms were over a foot smaller each way and also lower for the added warmth and elegance. About this time, also, clapboards were added outside and the lean-to roof raised, making three little bed rooms on the rear second floor, and the wood shed became the kitchen and the one-time kitchen had a wainscott and became the dining room.

Later on came a fine tall clock. This was birch with a detachable top ornamented with two big gold balls: "Milliken of Lexington" made it and put his name large on the face of it. The journey of the clock must have been by ox team and we can fancy the big family that greeted it and helped in the unloading—they moved it carefully and stood it in the SE corner of the newly converted dining room. Then came the top which was wrapped to travel separately; it was all safe, but alas the low room allowed the clock but not the top. Then suddenly some one remembered the space between the new ceiling of the dining room and the floor of the Dorcas room above; so the plaster was cut away leaving a queer triangular space which just allowed the top to be put into its proper place. The clock is now in a higher stud house in the town but the hole is left to tell the tale at the farm.

Andover had shown lively sympathy with Boston and Cambridge in the troubled times before the Revolution. The company of Minute Men included every one available in the town, equipment was considered and all waited eagerly for news.

"On the 19th of April '75" it was mid morning before the alarm of the British advance reached our town,

but ringing of bells brought all able bodied men to arms—oxen were left standing in the fields—companies assembled and started on the twenty-five mile march through Billerica to Lexington. Among these “Minute Men” were a son of the Holts of Holt’s Hill, sons-in-law, nephews—a score in all.

A day of excitement followed. Finally next afternoon the soldiers began to return, but with sad stories of the battle and forebodings for the future. Many Andover men re-enlisted for the army which was camped about Boston and many were in the battle of Bunker Hill. On that critical day a crowd of townspeople on top of Holt’s Hill watched the smoke and heard the cannon at Charlestown.

The English Army held Boston, and General Washington took command of the Continental army which kept the city of Boston in a state of siege. It was a long winter of agitation and worry for the surrounding country. Andover was a haven for refugees from Boston and part of the Harvard Library was brought here for safe keeping.

In May, 1776, the daughter Mary married John Adams, Lieutenant in the Continental Army. In November, ’76, Thomas Holt died and sad times came to his widow Dorcas II and to the farm—as the only sons at home were William thirteen years and Joseph eleven years.

We follow the later history but briefly; the house was owned and farmed by descendants of Nicholas I continuously till 1880. After a short time of outside ownership, in 1917 it was bought by another descendant of the Holts and it again became a family home—well loved and cared for, with every hope of standing on the hillside in the sun of many, many years to come.

The Holts must have been a hardy race of hill men even before they came to America and surely the women were vigorous nature lovers, else how could they have lived the life and borne the burdens of pioneers!

An old gentleman who was a boy in Andover of long ago told us "we used to think the girls who came to church from the Holt farm were prettier than the town girls, their cheeks were so red."

South of the house at the end of the high stone wall and hard by the old lilac hedge, we find a rose of the early perennial type. One may imagine it belonged to Dorcas, mother or daughter, and these lines seem to fit it; and to understand their life on the Hill:

"One can trudge and drudge through a long life's course
If she discover a hidden source
To seek, when the spirit is faint and dry.
Here was her rose bush growing high,
That he never knew, for he never cared,
This her joy, no mortal shared.
Her hands were never too stiff or tired
To foster the beauty the soul desired.
Here by the bush one glimpsed the Hills
Where forests crooned and ran free rills,
One breathed deep draughts from a windswept sky
Sunset Moonglow mystery."

CHAPTER V.

THE WIVES OF NICHOLAS HOLT

IN THE book, "Anne Bradstreet and her Times", the author writes: "There is a singular aptitude for marriage in these old Puritans. They married early and, if opportunity presented, married aften." Nicholas Holt was no exception to this tendency.

Nicholas had three wives. His first wife, Elizabeth Short, he married probably in England. The Will of Henry Short dated February 13th, 1672, in Essex County, Massachusetts, Probates (case 232.36), states in case his children, Henry and Sarah, die without issue, the next heir is his cousin (nephew) Samuel Holt, and if Samuel fail of issue his brother Nicholas has the estate. This Henry Short came to America in the "Mary and John" in 1634, and settled in Ipswich and later removed to Newbury, where Nicholas Holt and Elizabeth had their first home. It may have been Henry Short's reports of opportunities in the new land which induced his sister Elizabeth, and her husband, Nicholas, to set sail for Boston and to go on from there to Newbury. Nicholas had a house-lot on High Street, as well as a thirty acre meadow which is still called "Holt's Neck". Henry Short was brother to Anthony Short who was in Newbury in 1635. The year before he had been in Ipswich. He was one of the first settlers of each place. He left no issue. Henry was Representative in 1644. His wife Elizabeth died in 1648. He married Sarah Glover, by whom he had a son, Henry, born in 1652, and daughter Sarah in 1660. The will was proved June 19, 1673. In the History of Newbury this item is recorded. "December 18th, 1645, Gristmill-m.2. Com. 7 men appointed to build water mill to be set up between Nicholas Holt's Point and the Edward Woodman's bridge before Sept. 29, 1646".

Henry Short's name is also in Grant to mill Aug. 6, 1638.

Elizabeth Short, Nicholas Holt's first wife, died in 1656, after twenty-one years of pioneer life. There were doubtless many hardships in her lot, but let us hope she was happy notwithstanding. Her oldest child, Hannah, she had probably brought with her to this country. The births of her next three children, Elizabeth, Mary and Samuel, are recorded in Newbury statistics, and the birth of Sarah is recorded in Pope's Pioneers. In 1644-1645 the family removed to Andover and Henry was born the same year. Nicholas, Jr., James, and little Priscilla, who lived only four months, followed.

The year after Elizabeth died, Mary, the third daughter of Nicholas, married Thomas Johnson. This was the first wedding in the family. The following year, 1658, Nicholas married Hannah Bradstreet, widow of Daniel Rolfe. Hannah, who thus became Nicholas' second wife, was nine years of age when she came to America in 1634 with her father and mother, Humphrey and Bridget Bradstreet. They settled at Ipswich, Humphrey becoming a proprietor in 1635. Hannah Bradstreet was married to Daniel Rolfe in 1650 at Ipswich. He died in Salem in 1654. Hannah's youngest brother, John, seems to have been a most peculiar person. In Fiske's "New France and New Britain", John Bradstreet is mentioned. He was accused of familiarity with the Devil, for as much as he stated to have confessed that he heard a voice, and, asking what work it had for him, it answered: "Go make a bridge of sand over the sea, go make a ladder up to Heaven and go to God and come down no more". When the case was tried, the jury found Bradstreet lied. He was fined 20s, or to be whipped.

At the time of her marriage to Nicholas Holt, Hannah had two children, Daniel and Hannah Rolfe, who probably accompanied their mother to the Holt household. The same year Elizabeth Holt and Ralph

Farnum were married and probably left the paternal roof. The family then consisted of Hannah and Sarah, daughters of Nicholas, and his four sons and the two little Rolfe children. This was later increased by the two children of Nicholas and Hannah, Rebecca and John. No record of Rebecca beyond the birth is found but John married Sarah Geery or Gary. They were the parents of Moses and Aaron. An interesting record was found in the Essex Institute papers:

“GUARDIANSHIP OF HANNA ROLFE OF ANDOVER”.

“Hanna Rolfe made choice of Nicholas Holt her father-in-law as her Guardian, said Holt being bound to pay her her portion when she comes of age”.

Hannah and her brother, Daniel, were mentioned in the Will of their grandfather, Humphrey Bradstreet. Hannah Rolfe Holt, their mother, lived only seven years after her marriage to Nicholas, dying in 1665.

In 1666 Nicholas married for his third wife Martha, widow of Roger Preston, and again the wife brought her family with her. This consisted of three sons, ranging from fifteen to eight years. Hannah and Sarah, the daughters of Nicholas, were presumably members of the family and it must have been a trying experience to have had two step-mothers come into the household and, perhaps, take its supervision out of their hands. Later, however, when well over thirty, Hannah married Robert Gray. With Nicholas Holt's own children by two different wives, and with the Rolfe children and the Preston boys, it must have been a mixed household, and the relationships somewhat complicated.

Martha's maiden name has not been found. Roger Preston, her husband, came to America in 1635 in the Ship Elizabeth. His name first appears in the records of Ipswich in 1639—Roger and Martha were married

in 1642. He was Innkeeper on the Emmannuel Downing farm on the old Ipswich road. The sons married and became well-known citizens of Andover, Preston's Plains, near Ballardville, being named for Samuel, the second son. Martha's daughters also married; Mary to Nathaniel Ingersol, and Elizabeth to William Henfield.

Nicholas Holt died in 1685 at the good old age of eighty-three years, and his widow, Martha, survived him until 1703. She must have been well cared for, as there is a record that the children of Nicholas agreed to provide for their "mother-in-law" if she survived her husband. Martha was surrounded by children and relatives, and the first generation from the birth of Nicholas in 1602 to the death of Martha in 1703 lived just one hundred and one years.

The wives of Nicholas Holt, Elizabeth, Hannah and Martha, were the mothers of a goodly number of children, whose descendants are among the prominent and well-known citizens, not only of Andover and vicinity where some are occupying ancestral homes, but in all parts of our native land where we find the name of Holt on our Honor lists.

CHAPTER VI.

SAMUEL HOLT—SON OF NICHOLAS HOLT, IMMIGRANT—1641-1703

FOREWORD—The modern genealogist must have a delicately poised imagination and watch his step. Why? Because on the one hand we have Science watching us to see that we give cold, exact facts, and on the other hand, respect for the Pioneer Spirit impels us to clothe the family skeletons of these meagrely written vital statistics, town and court records, family bible lists and handed-down legends, and last but not least, weather-beaten tombstone inscriptions, with real flesh and blood, for is it not our own flesh and blood and spirit that we are tenderly depicting?

We are proud of that Pioneer Courage that was willing to put to sea in a cockleshell, brave hardship, famine, cold and disease—and Indians—searching for that will-o'-the-wisp, Fortune. We want to gather up before it is too late all the faint records we can still find, thankful to everyone who has written down a birth date, a marriage record, or carved a tombstone.

All honor to the farseeing souls who have written a town history or printed a family lineage, simply because of an imperative inner urge that it would have permanent human interest! It is a little bit of self-respect which we pass on to the unborn generations of Americans, encouraging them with the admonition that perhaps the pioneer spirits are not so far away and are whispering to them: "We are watching; we are helping; keep on going FORWARD!"

SAMUEL HOLT, son of Nicholas, the immigrant, and the subject of this article, was a man of prominence in early Andover, Massachusetts, as is evidenced by frequent

references to him in the early annals of the town and court records of Essex County.

I shall give first a brief biography for the benefit of future searchers after facts, as we have been, and then short sketches of some of his relatives and of those of his wife. He was evidently very fond of his wife and anxious that she be taken care of after his death, as you may read in his quaintly worded will on record in Salem. You will find it appended to this bit of research work.

SAMUEL (2) was born in Newbury, Mass., Oct. 6, 1641, and died in Andover Nov. 7, 1703, aged 62 years. When he was a lad of three years his parents moved to Andover. Before 1670 he had married Sarah Allen, daughter of Andrew and Faith (Ingalls) Allen, and a sister of the Hannah Allen whom his brother James afterwards married in 1676. They had only two children, so far as we know, both sons: Samuel (3), born Aug. 3, 1670 and John (3), about 1672. They lived not only through the pioneer days of Andover, but survived the smallpox epidemic of 1690 and the witchcraft delusion of 1692. Sarah, his widow, lived nearly thirteen years longer than he did, dying in Andover April 3, 1716, aged 70.

In June, 1669, "Samuel Holt, aged about 29 years, deposed that he went down to the Iron Works with John Lovejoy who took deponent's father's team with 8 oxen, to carry wheat for Thomas Chandler of Andover." So say the Quarterly Records of Essex County, in a statement sworn to before Simon Bradstreet.

In the Probate Records of the same county, he is mentioned in the will of Henry Short of Newbury, probated June 19, 1673, as follows: "And if my son Henry dye without Issue, What I have here given him shall fall to my daughter Sarah, and her heirs and if she

should also dye without issue, then I Giue to my wife, and after her decease to my *Cousen Samuell Holt*, prouided he giue to Robert Longs children and to Nathan Parker junr. ten pounds apiece, and if Samuel faile, then to his brother Nicholas Holt." Cousin was often used in those times for the word relative.

In 1678 Samuel Holt was constable. Feb. 11, 1678, Samuel with his father and brother Nicholas, jr., took the oath of allegiance to the king. In 1685 Corp. Samuel Holt was grand juryman. Samuel Hoult, as the name was often spelled, is on a list of taxpayers for the minister in the year 1692 for the South End of the Towne. His name occurs in a petition to the General Court for more land around Andover. (Mass. Archives, Vol. CXII, p. 202.)

Durrie, in his Holt Genealogy, says Nicholas, sr., did not leave a will, but divided his property before his death, with the idea that his sons should take care of him. By a deed dated June 16, 1682, Nicholas deeded to Samuel one half of his 60 acres of upland, on which his house then stood; 130 acres of his great division; one half of his meadow called Ladle Meadow; and various small pieces—in consideration of which he was to pay 15 shillings to the town and church yearly as a part of his rate to the ministry, and 20 shillings a year to him, the said Nicholas, for his maintenance. Samuel's land adjoined Henry's on the east, and on the west Ladle Meadow.

Samuel and his wife were members of the Congregational church in 1686. He was made a freeman in 1691. That Samuel was considered a man of stability is shown by the following clause in the will of one Andrew Peters, who, however, did not die until ten years after our Samuel! Andrew Peeter's (as he spelled it) daughter Mercy had married John Allen, brother-in-law of Samuel, and both had died of smallpox in 1690, leaving two children:

.... "And as for my grandchilderen John & hannah Allin haue been under my Care, I have Reserved them that which was their Fathers that is to say for John Allin ye farme that was his Fathers, and for hannah Allin The household stoffe, as to a lead & pewter which I gaue to their mother and tenne pounds in ye hands of *their unckle Samuel Holt* which will appear by an Instrument under ye said Samuel Holt his hand & seal."

(The above was copied from a photographed copy of the original document written by Andrew Peeters himself, reproduced in a book called "Peters of New England," compiled in 1903 by Edmond F. Peters and Eleanor B. Peters—p. 30). In the North Andover graveyard is an interesting tombstone reading: "John Allen, d. 1712, 24 years old." Probably it is that of the grandson mentioned above.

Samuel's wife was SARAH ALLEN. She was the daughter of Andrew Allen, sr., also one of the "first families" in Andover, and his wife Faith Ingalls, b. in Lynn. Her father was Edmund Ingalls, another early English pioneer, who, with his brother Francis, was among the first handful who settled the town of Lynn in 1629. Later on I shall give more details about the Ingalls Family, tracing them back two generations in England. It has been most gratifying to discover all this, for in Durrie's book Samuel's wife is simply "Sarah ——."

ANDREW ALLEN, SR., was in Lynn in 1642; married there; removed to Andover; and died there Oct. 24, 1690, undoubtedly of smallpox. Smallpox seems to have been the scourge and dread of all pioneers, and it was certainly epidemic in Andover in 1690. Andrew Allen's two sons, Andrew, jr., and John, and some grandchildren, and Samuel's sister Sarah Holt Marks, and his brother James and his son, died that fall from it.

The selectmen of Andover no doubt thought they did their duty when they issued the following notice:

“To Samuel Holt, Andrew Allen and John Allen, Neighbors and friends—We the subscribers of Andover have been informed that your sister Carrier and some of her children are smitten with that contagious disease the smallpox and some have been inconsiderate as to think that the care of them belongs to the select men of Andover which does not, for they took care when first they came to town to warn them out again and have attended the law therein: and shall only take care that they do not spread the distemper with wicked carelessness which we are afraid they have already done: you had best take what care you can about them, nature and Religion requiring of it. We hope we have done faithfully in this information and are your friends and servants.”

Dated 14th Oct., 1690. (See “Historical Sketches” by Bailey, p. 102.)

And again we find the following warrant addressed to Walter Wright:

“To Walter Wright Constable: Whereas it has pleased God to visit those of the widdowe Allen’s family which she hath taken into her house with that contagious disease the smallpox, it being as we think part of our duty to prevent the spreading of sd distemper we therefore requier you in their Majsties’ names to warn sd family not to goe near any house soe as to endanger them by sd infection nor to come to the public meeting till they may acquaint you with: which provide for them out of their own estates.” (See Bailey, p 202 and “Peters of New England.”)

The above Walter Wright, constable, was a brother-in-law of our Samuel’s wife, because he had married Elizabeth, oldest daughter of Andrew Peters, and sister of Mercy Peters, wife of John Allen, Sarah’s brother! This last pronunciamiento was evidently just after the death of Andrew Allen, sr.

Sarah Allen's sister, Martha, poor soul, married in 1674 Thomas Carrier, and has come down to history because she refused to confess, when accused of all sorts of malicious things by her neighbors in the witchcraft frenzy of 1692. Her trial was most dramatic, according to all accounts, and I think it is to the everlasting shame of Massachusetts that they for one instant allowed themselves to be carried away by any such hysteria. She was hanged on Gallows Hill, Salem, Aug. 19, 1692. Some years after her death the family moved to Colchester, Connecticut, and were among the first settlers there. They had come to Andover from Billerica. I shall write more fully later on about the witchcraft delusion and quote some interesting notes I found in an old, old history of Colchester and also what I found about the Carrier family in the History of Billerica, by Hazen.

Another sister of Sarah Allen, Hannah, married James Holt, brother of our Samuel, on Oct. 12, 1675.

The will of Andrew Allen, sr., was probated March 31, 1691, and is No. 370 on the records at Salem. It reads like this: "I give to my wife, Faith Allen I give to my Son Andrew I give to my son John I give to my four daughters, namely, Mary Toothaker, Sarah Holt, Martha Carrier and Hannah Holt, a sheep." His wife and son Andrew were named as executors.

As no one can dispute, it is a pretty good bit of evidence that a person existed if he or she is mentioned in a will; and the above mentioned item absolutely clinched the fact that Sarah Allen was Samuel's wife, although Durrie did not know her name.

While gossip about Samuel's "in-laws" may be most fascinating, we must not let it occupy us to the exclusion of his children, who are crying for notice!

SAMUEL (3) was the elder son of Samuel (2) and

Sarah (Allen) Holt. He was born at Andover Aug. 3, 1670; he died there July 20, 1747; he married March 28, 1693 his cousin Hannah Farnum, the daughter of Ralph and Elizabeth (Holt) Farnum, who died Jan. 30, 1758, aged 91 years. According to Durrie they had 8 children.

JOHN (3) second son of Samuel (2) and Sarah (Allen) Holt, was born about 1672. He married for his 1st wife on Jan. 16, 1705-6 Elizabeth Preston, b. Feb. 14, 1682. She was the 6th child of Samuel (2) and Susannah (Guttererson) Preston. Samuel Preston was the son of Roger (1) Preston, who "imbarqued in the 'Elizabeth' of London in 1635" and settled in Ipswich, Mass. Roger Preston's widow Martha married Nicholas Holt, the immigrant, for her second husband on May 21, 1666 and thus became his third wife. If I am not mistaken, this union made the grandfather of the John Holt above married to the grandmother of his first wife! (See Historical Col. of Danvers Hist. Society, Vol. 15, 1926, p. 101, in a history of the Descendants of Roger Preston of Ipswich and Salem Village).

John married for his 2d wife on July 17, 1712, Mehitable Wilson and had six children by her.

Let us now turn back to the troublous times of 1692 in Andover and Salem, when the thoughts of witches in league with Satan seemed to hover in the air and overshadowed the good, sound, common sense of even the ministers and magistrates. Does it shock your good Holt blood to think that the relative of one of our several-times-removed great-grandmothers was accused of being a witch—and was hanged, to the everlasting shame of her persecutors? We must remember that no one lives to himself alone, and one family tree sometimes casts a shadow over another. Also that in a forest there are many trees, all standing close together.

First, however, let us not forget that a belief in witch-

craft was everywhere prevalent in Europe and the American colonies. Stringent laws had been passed against casting spells and serving Satan in England. Satan was as real as God, and Hell not far off. Among the ignorant classes superstitions were rife. To quote the author of a recent story about a witch, written in a quaint, old-fashioned manner, "If one does not believe in witches, how can one believe in devils, and if not in devils, how then in Hell? . . . And Hell is, as all know, the fundamental principle on which good conduct and Christian faith are built. . . . Without Hell where is Heaven? And without a Devil, where is God?"

Because our Samuel and his family lived in the midst of this upset of human emotions, in which we hope he kept an even mind, it has been necessary to read all we could find about this episode in colonial history. As a Holt family, we are much indebted to a book called "Historical Sketches of Andover" by Sarah Loring Bailey, pub. in 1880. Not only is it full of the early history of the town, but she gives a vivid write-up of the "witchcraft delusion" and speaks of the persecution and trial of Martha Allen Carrier in a most fair manner. Her character stands out fine and strong against the credulity and venom of her accusers and persecutors.

The beginning of the trouble was in the winter of 1691 in Salem Village. Some young girls met for amusement, and told fortunes and played games. An old Indian servant named Tituba, originally from "New Spain," read their palms and told stories of the supernatural. Weird tales filled their imaginations and eventually they became hysterical. At succeeding meetings one frenzy led to another. Some had convulsions and mewed like cats and barked like dogs. They showed the mark of teeth on their flesh and black and blue spots. They said they were bewitched and became ill. When questioned as to who had done it, they pointed out some

friendless and eccentric characters who were either half-insane or bore an evil reputation. The rumors grew and it went out that these afflicted ones could tell what caused the sickness of people and how to cure them.

It chanced that in the spring of 1692 Joseph Ballard of Andover was persuaded to consult some of them with a view to ascertaining the cause of his wife's illness. Two of the Salem girls were invited to come over to Andover; they solemnly named several persons as the malicious causes of his wife's disease. These were arrested, and they implicated others, and in three months forty people were in the miserable jail at Salem. The wildest rumors gained credence. It was said that the Devil had made a pact to destroy the Christian faith of the community, and had made them sign their names in his "books" and agree to do his bidding. They were of all ages. Many in their bewilderment confessed and said they had midnight meetings and went riding in the air on sticks! These stories of a diseased imagination were believed by their friends and relatives even, and this added fuel to the flame. At first only the eccentric or high-tempered or peculiar dregs of the townsfolk were accused, but the accusations later reached the better class and persons of hitherto irreproachable character were accused. Mr. Dudley Bradstreet even was compelled to flee. Prominent ministers like the famous Cotton Mather believed the tales and later wrote of them.

In the trials eight citizens of Andover were condemned. Two women and one man were hanged, and one of these was Martha Allen Carrier, whom we now know was the sister-in-law of our Samuel Holt. Most of the poor unfortunates made so-called confessions, but Martha Carrier absolutely refused to say that she was a witch or had done aught to harm anyone. Altho exhorted on all hands to confess and thus escape the death penalty, she refused to belie herself.

Martha was a woman of plain and outspoken speech and a sharp tongue. She spoke her mind to any of the townspeople or neighboring farmers who tried to cheat or take advantage of her or her husband. All her vindictive remarks were brought up against her when accused of being a witch and causing the death of a cow or bodily pains or bad luck. They put her children on the stand and tried by their testimony to prove that she was a witch and took the form of a black cat. Accounts of the questions put to them and the accused on the stand seem to show that the prosecutors wished to prove them guilty!

A summons for witnesses was issued July 30:

“Wm & Mary by ye Grace of God of England, Scotland, ffrence & Ireland King & Queen Defendrs of ye faith &c ss. To ye Constable of Constables of Andover Greeting:

“We command you to Warn and give Notice unto Allen Toothaker, Ralph ffarnum junr., John ffarnum son of Ralph ffarnum senr, Benjamin Abbott and his wife, Andrew Foster, Phebe Chandler daughter of William Chandler, *Samuel Holt senr*, Samuel Preston junr, that they and every one of them shall be and personally appear at ye Court of Oyer and Terminer to be held by adjournment on Tuesday next at Ten of ye Clock in ye Morning there to testifie ye truth to ye best of thir knowledge on certain indictments to be exhibited against Martha Carrier of Andover; hereof fail not at your utmost perill and make return of your doings herein.

Stephen Sewall, Clerk.”

Dated in Salem July 30th, 1692.

After two months' imprisonment in the heat of midsummer, the unhappy woman was brought out on the first

of August to face the neighbors and relations who accused her of afflicting them in their persons and estates, causing disease to fall upon them and their cattle and blight on their crops. Notwithstanding all the evidence, Martha was undaunted and maintained her innocence. To the magistrates when they examined her she had turned and sternly said: "It is a shameful thing that you should mind these folks that are out of their wits." I do hope that our Samuel, whose will shows he was a religious man, did not testify against her nor believe in witchcraft. I know there were some broad-minded souls at that time in Andover and, as I look at it, perhaps the Devil had taken possession of the accusers and witnesses, and condemners, instead of the poor victims who didn't travel with the herd! I was shocked to read in the writings of the eminent minister, Rev. Cotton Mather, that he believed in witchcraft, and was shocked at the impiety and obduracy of Martha Carrier. He called her an "arrant hag," and says that as a reward of her adherence to Satan she had received the promise that she should be "queen of hell."

And as for the fact that they brought Martha's children into court to testify against her as a witch, a letter from a fellow prisoner says: "The sons of Martha Carrier would not confess anything till they had tied them neck and heel till the blood was ready to come out of their noses." And in the court records there is the testimony of little Sarah, Martha's daughter, not yet 8 years old—and strong, grown men and women believed the testimony of a little girl-child who testified that her mother came to her in the form of a black cat, because the black cat said she was her mother!

A whole book could be written about this sad time of tragedy, physical and mental, in Andover and Salem, but after a while public sentiment changed and there was a strong reaction. In an old book published in 1767 called "History of Massachusetts Bay by Mr. Hutchinson,

Lt. Gov of Province," there is a copy of the petition signed by our Samuel and others, asking for clemency for those whom they still kept in jail amid great discomfort and privation. I have divided it into paragraphs so that we modern Holts need not put our eyes out reading it, but it is interesting to see the names of the friends and neighbors of our Samuel. We, who are writing up these early annals, feel that they are old acquaintances of ours, too! There is no date to the petition but it was probably in the fall of 1692.

"TO THE HONoured COURT OF ASSIZE

held at Salem, the humble Address of Several of the Inhabitants of Andover: May it please this Honoured Court, we being very sensible of the great sufferings our neighbors have been long under in prison and charitably judging that many of them are clear of that great transgression which hath been laid to their charge have thought it our duty to endeavour their vindication as far as our testimony for them will avail.

The persons in whose behalf we are desired and concerned to speak something at present are Mrs. Mary Osgood, Eunice Frye, Deliverance Dane, Sarah Wilson, and Abigail Barker, who are women of whom we can truly give this character and commendation that they have not only lived among us so inoffensively as not to give the least occasion to any that know them to suspect them of witchcraft, but by their sober, godly and exemplary conversation have obtained a good report in the place where they have been well esteemed and approved in the church of which they are members.

We were surprised to hear that persons of known integrity and piety were accused of so horrid a crime, not considering then that the most innocent were liable to be

so misrepresented and abused. When these women were accused by some afflicted persons of the neighborhood, their relations and others, tho' they had so good grounds of charity that they should not have thought any evil of them, yet, through a misrepresentation of the truth of that evidence that was so much credited and improved against people, took great pains to persuade them to own what they were by the afflicted charged with; and indeed did unreasonably urge them to confess themselves guilty, as some of us who were then present can testify.

But these good women did very much assert their innocence; yet some of them said they were not without fear lest Satan had some way ensnared them, because there was that evidence against them which then was by many thought to be a certain indication and discovery of witchcraft; yet they seriously professed they knew nothing by themselves of that nature.

Nevertheless by the unwearied solicitations of those that privately discoursed them both at home and at Salem, they were at length persuaded publicly to own what they were charged with, and so submit to that guilt which we still hope and believe they are clear of. And it is probable that fear of what the event might be and the encouragement that, it is said, was suggested to them, that *confessing* was the only way to obtain favor might be too powerful a temptation to timorous women to withstand in the hurry and distraction that we have heard they were then in.

Had what they said against themselves proceeded from conviction of the fact, we should have had nothing to have said for them; but we are induced to think that it did not, because they did soon privately retract what they had said, as we are informed, and while they were in prison they declared to such as they had confidence to speak freely and plainly to that they were not guilty of what they had owned and that what they had said against

themselves was the greatest grief and burden they labored under.

Now though we cannot but judge it a thing very sinful for innocent persons to own a crime they are not guilty of, yet considering the well-ordered conversation of those women while they lived among us, and what they now seriously and constantly affirm in a more composed frame, we cannot but in charity judge them innocent of the great transgression that hath been imputed to them. As for the rest of our neighbors who are under the like circumstances with these that have been named, we can truly say of them, that, while they lived among us, we have had no cause to judge them such persons as of late they have been represented to be, nor do we know that any of their neighbors had any just grounds to suspect them of that evil thing they are now charged with.

(Signed)

Dudley Bradstreet
Francis Dane, sen.
Thomas Barnard
Tho. Chandler, sen.
John Barker
Henry Ingolls, sen.
Wm. Chandler, sen.
Samuel Martin
Stephen Parker
Samuel Ingolls
Ephraim Stevens
Daniel Poore
John Ingolls
Henry Ingolls, jun.
John Frie, sen.
James Frie
John Aslet (Aslebe)
Samuel Holt

John Abbot, sen.
Samuel Blanchard
Wm. Ballard
Thomas Hooper
John Hooper
Wm. Abbot
James Russell
Oliver Holt
John Presson (Preston)
Francis Dane, Jun.
George Abbot
Wm. Chandler, jun.
John Chandler
Joseph Robinson
Thomas Johnson
Tho. Johnson, jun.
Andrew Peters
Mary (Mercy) Peters

Elizabeth Rite	Eliza. Stevens
Wm. Peters	Eliza. Barnard
Sam. Peters	Phebe Robinson
Walter Wright	Hannah Chandler
Hooker Osgood	Hannah Dane
Benja. Stevens	Bridget Chandler
Ann Bradstreet	Mary Johnson
Joanna Dane	Robert Russel

Mary Russell”

Turning aside again from the direct line of Holts, I wish to bring to your attention, gentle reader, some interesting gossip about the Carrier family, allied, as you remember, with the Holts through marriage. I wish to acknowledge here my indebtedness to the librarians in the genealogical department of the Newberry Library, Chicago. This is a famous place to search for ancestors, and without its wealth of material, I should have been helpless.

In the “History of Billerica, Mass.,” by Henry A. Hazen, 1883, I found the Carrier family listed in the genealogical section in the back of the book on p. 22 and copy the following, which seemed to me most interesting:

“*Carrier*: Thomas, ‘vulgarly called Morgan,’ was in town (Billerica) in 1674. 23, 4M, 1676 the selectmen ordered the constable to give notice to Thomas Carrier, alias Morgan, Welchman, that the town was not willing hee should abide here as an inhabitant, and that he forthwith depart with his family, or give such security as shall be to the content of the selectmen, on peril of 20s per week, while hee abide without leave, first had and obtained, which is according to an ancient towne order amongst us.”

“In Nov., 1677, he was assigned ‘with his man, John Levistone,’ to brush cutting in the south-east part of the

town, and he took the 'oath of fidelity,' with 24 inhabitants, Feb. 4, 1677-78. If he was at first in the s.e. part of the town, his later residence was just beyond N. Billerica, west of the road 'to Winthrop's farm,' and next to John Rogers.

"Between 1684-90 he removed to Andover and there his wife became fatally involved in the witchcraft tragedy." (Some years later the Carriers moved to Colchester, Conn., and were original settlers there.)

Hazen here quotes from a history of Colchester, and on looking it up I found an old history called "Extracts from records of Colchester from Recording of Michael Taintor," pub. at Hartford in 1864. Says Taintor:

"Thomas Carrier and his sons Richard and Andrew were from Andover, where Martha, wife of Thomas was executed for witchcraft in A. D. 1692. Thomas Carrier had belonged to the bodyguard of King Charles I of England and was notorious for fleetness of foot even more than 100 years old. It is said that he killed the king of England. If so, he must have been the executioner of King Charles I in A. D. 1648. He was a Welshman, and said by his descendants to be 113 years old at the time of his decease in A. D. 1735."

Hazen goes on to say in his History of Billerica:

"He used to walk from Colchester to Glastonbury, carrying a sack of corn on his shoulders to be ground, walking very fast and stopping but once for the whole distance of 18 miles. . . . Families bearing that name still live in the vicinity. He married Martha, daughter of Andrew and Faith Allen of Andover, sister of Dr. Roger Toothaker's wife. Her sister Hannah married James Holt, and another sister married Samuel Holt of Andover, and she had brothers Andrew and John (Allen). Several of the family died of smallpox in 1692. Thomas

died in Colchester May 16, 1735." . . . Traditions vary as to his age.

Reference has already been made to the INGALLS family of Lynn, and how through the marriage of his daughter Faith Ingalls to Andrew Allen, sr., we who trace back to Samuel (2) can claim her father, Edmund Ingalls, as an ancestor. I found an Ingalls genealogy in the "History of Lynn, Essex County, Mass.,—including Lynnfield, Saugus, Swampscot and Nahant—" by Alonzo Lewis and James R. Newall, Boston, 1865. Lynn was one of the earliest towns "planted" in Massachusetts; and Edmund and Francis Ingalls, brothers, from Lincolnshire, Eng., were among the first handful of white settlers there in 1629. He was a farmer and settled in the eastern part of the town near a small pond on Fayette St. He had a malt house on its bank. When the lands were apportioned in 1638, the records show that there were given to "Edmund and Francis Ingalls, upland and meadow, 120 acres."

Edmund was accidentally drowned in 1648 by falling with his horse through the old Saugus bridge on Boston St.; for which the General Court paid one hundred pounds (\$444) to his children!

There is an Ingalls Family Genealogy written by Charles Burleigh, M. D., 1903. It seems way back in early English history Scandinavian pirates settled in Lincolnshire and became farmers, and the name was Ingialld, which means "by the power of Thor." It is spelled Ingall, Engle, Ingolds, Ingles. Henry, the grandfather of Edmund, lived at Skirbeck in Lincolnshire. His son Robert was the father of Edmund, and his will was filed July 12, 1617, and mentions wife Elizabeth, and sons Edmund and Francis.

Our Edmund was born in Skirbeck about 1598; came to Salem in Gov. Endicott's company in 1628. After he

helped settle Lynn, he was fined for carrying sticks on Sunday! He put his mark to his will and it mentions his daughter *Faith* as follows: "Likewise to my daughter faith, wife of Andrew Allen, I bequeath two yearling calves and inform my wife to pay him 40 shillings debt in a year's time after my decease." It was probated Sept. 16, 1648.

I found a list of the children of Faith and Andrew Allen in Essex Antiquarian Collections, 1899, p. 7.

As a finale to this slight history of Samuel (2), son of Nicholas Holt (1), immigrant, I beg you to read the following copy of his last testament, which is attested as accurate by the Essex Probate Office, Salem, Mass., under the recent date of Oct. 3, 1927.

"In the Name of God, Amen. I Samuel Holt of Andover in the County of Essex in New England, being weak in Body but of sound mind and memory and not knowing the time of my dissolution; do make this my last Will and Testament.

First: I give my Soul into the hands of my Blessed Lord Jesus Christ, who hath Redeemed it with his own Precious blood: And my Body I leave with my friends to be disposed of in a Christian-like and decent Buriall. And as for my Worldly goods which God hath given me, I Dispose of them in manner following:

Imprimis: I give unto my Dear and Loving Wife Sarah Holt for her use and comfort that end of my Dwelling House that I now dwell in, so long as she shall remain my widow and said house to be kept in good repair, so as may be, comfortable for her, my two sons Samuel and John Holt equally to take care and be at charge for the repairing the same; and what is already payd by me to Samuel Preston on that account to be equally divided betwixt them.

Also I give to my wife two Cows to be kept for her use and to be wintered at the house where she dwells and said Cows to be maintained by my two sons Samuel and John. And if one or both of said Cows grow unusefull by age or any casualty, they shall be renewed by others, one half to be for the use of my wife and the other half to that Son that changeth said Cow.

Also I give my wife Twenty Bushells of Indian Corn and two Bushells of wheat, two Bushells of Rie yearly and three Bushells of Malt and one hundred and twenty pound of Pork all to be payd her yearly by my two Sons in equall proportions. Also I give to my wife a new suit of clothes once in two years so long as she remains my widow, to be bought for her by my 2 sons equally. And they also shall take care to carry her to meeting and elsewhere as she shall have occasion to go; they shall be equally concerned to carry her.

Also my two sons aforesaid shall provide firewood for my wife, sufficient for winter and summer to be cut into cord-wood and layd at her door.

Also I give to my wife the use of a piece of Land between the great Stump and the Barn lying in my field behind my house. Also I give to my wife all my Household stuff to dispose of as she shall see cause. Also I give her all my sheep to be at her dispose.

Item: I give to my Son Samuel Holt my Dwelling house & Barn & orchard and half my land, that is to say the North end of it. I also give him two pieces of my swamp meadow. I give him also my new chain, and a third part of my Cart and Irons belonging thereunto.

Item: I give to my Son John Holt the other half of my land and the rest of my meadow called boar meadow and the three corner meadow. I give to him also my stock excepting three calves. And all the rest of my Implements. He paying all Debts and Legacyes and to buy

my wife one suit of Apparell. And so long as he shall continue with his mother, he shall have the use of my home field, and afterward to do his proportion as to apparell and all other obligations to his mother. It is also to be understood that I give my wife the use of half my orchard so long as she continues my widow.

And I do constitute and appoint my two Sons Samuel and John executors of this my last Will and Testament. And I do hereby revoke and disannull all former Wills and Testaments by me made, and do ratify and confirm this and no other to be my last Will and Testament.

In Witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 22d day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and two.

SAMUEL HOLT (Seal)

Signed, sealed, and delivered to be his Last will in the presence of us!

John Abbott
Ralph Farnum
Henry Holt

Will proved December 6, 1703.

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CHAPTER VII

HENRY, SON OF NICHOLAS, AND HIS CHILDREN

“**I**F I wanted to give a foreigner some clear idea of what that excellent institution, a New England town, really is, in its history and its character, in its enterprise and its sobriety, in its godliness and its manliness, I should be sure that I could do it if I could make him perfectly familiar with the past and the present of Andover.” So spoke her illustrious son, Bishop Phillips Brooks, at the dedication of Memorial Hall in 1873.

Thirty-seven men originally owned Andover, among them Nicholas Holt. They and their descendants created the town. But there were many inter-marriages so that there are very few of the descendants of one of these men who does not count others among his ancestors. Bishop Brooks in the same address refers to these old names; as they appeared among the fifty men of Andover engaged at Bunker Hill and in the muster-roll of the Civil War:

“What were the captains called of the four militia companies of 1777—Johnson and Lovejoy and Abbot and Holt? And were not these same names—Johnson and Lovejoy and Abbott and Holt—high on the muster-rolls of 1862?”

In a brief paragraph he has summed up the influence of Andover in National affairs:

“The soldier and the scholar came forth together from the culture of our town. A powder-mill and a paper-mill were the first two industries, and the same gentle Shawsheen turned the wheels of both.”

The above quotation applies not only to Andover in the larger sense but in a concrete sense to the descendants of Nicholas Holt.

Henry², the second son and fifth child of Nicholas and Elizabeth (Short) Holt, was born at Andover, Massachusetts, in 1644. He was the first of their children to be born there, the first four having been born at Newbury.

He married, February 24, 1669, Sarah, the daughter of William and Grace Ballard, whose name is sixteenth in the list of earliest settlers in the order in which they came to Andover. This is the same William Ballard who was formerly of Newbury. Sarah, the wife of Henry Holt, was consequently the sister of Joseph Ballard, through whom unwittingly the witchcraft delusion overwhelmed Andover.

William Ballard, the father of Sarah, was a considerable landowner but not conspicuous in public affairs. He died at Andover, July 10, 1689. According to the Ballard Genealogy, he left an estate valued at 206 lbs. 18s 6d. In the Probate Court of Salem, Massachusetts, there is carefully preserved an envelope bearing the name, William Ballard of Andover, and the date, September 29, 1691. But the envelope is empty.

Grace, the wife of William Ballard, has not yet been identified.

Before his death, Nicholas Holt⁽¹⁾ deeded land to his sons. To his son Henry⁽²⁾, he deeded "one-half my three score acres of upland and the land on which Henry's house stands, being on the stony plain at the south of the town. 130 acres of my great division of upland and adjoining on the south end of above three acres. Also one-half my meadow called Ladle meadow. Bounded on east end by a swamp and with upland on both sides with stakes and staves SW and NW and also on NW by land of Samuel Holt."

He also left him other lands with swamps, rocky hills and meadows. But the above quotation locates

Henry Holt's abode. Henry's land was west of his brother Samuel's.

Henry² Holt was a prominent man in the town of Andover, and his name is frequently found on committees. He was known as an upright, dependable man, one ready to bear his full share of the burdens and responsibilities of the early town. In 1686 a record of the proceedings of the town notes, "Liberty was granted Henry Holt to set up a saw-mill on Ladle Meadow Brook." This was a privilege granted only to those who had been found reliable. Three or four years later, Henry Holt as one of the selectmen signed a certificate of the good order in the house of entertainment of William Chandler, who had an inn on the road leading from Ipswich to Billerica. Simon Bradstreet was one of the selectmen at the same time. Henry Holt was surveyor for the south end of the town, and also at one time constable.

The little town clustered near the church in what is now North Andover had been gradually spreading to the southward until, at the beginning of the new century, the majority of the population was living in what became the South Parish, now known as Andover. Many and bitter were the meetings held to determine the position of a new meeting house. Finally, by act of the General Court, the town was divided into two parishes, each to have a meeting-house of its own. It was no difference in creed that divided the people at this time, but the convenience of attending Divine Worship.

Henry Holt was moderator at this first meeting in the South Parish. He was also one of the early assessors. As most of the Holts were living on the lands extending from Holt Hill, down toward the present South Parish meeting house and then toward the Shawsheen, they became members of the new church.

They were most fortunate in their choice of a minister. They chose Reverend Samuel Phillips. Rev-

erend Phillips, who had just passed his twenty-first birthday at the time of his ordination, remained with them in perfect accord until his death just before the Revolution. He was, by the way, an ancestor of Bishop Phillips Brooks. He was a man of learning, practical common sense and zeal. It was said of him that he turned the hour-glass at the beginning of his sermon but the sands had run completely out long before he closed. Another has said: "He dinted the paths of his parish with the hoofs of his horse, astride of which, wearing his three-cornered hat, and carrying his wife, the daughter of the worshipful John White Esq. of Haverhill, on a pillion behind, he visited each family and catechised each child."

And so towards the close of his life, Henry Holt was especially interested in the new parish and its church. Both Henry and his wife united with the South Parish Church June 3, 1716, by profession of faith. Henry died at Andover, January 17, 1719, aged seventy-five years. He was the last of the sons of Nicholas to die, and only one sister, Hannah Gray, survived him. At the time of his death, thirteen of his fourteen children were living, the only death being that of little Benjamin, who died at the age of five. His son William died the same year as his father. The other twelve were evidently hale and hearty when their father died.

Sarah (Ballard) Holt survived her husband by many years. She died at Andover November 25, 1733. The will of William, who died the same year as his father, stipulated that his younger brother Humphrey should live at the homestead, if his mother desired, and care for her.

ELIZABETH³, DAUGHTER OF HENRY²

Elizabeth³, the eldest daughter of Henry and his wife Sarah, was born at Andover, December 29, 1670. Probably she joined at the proper age the North An-

dover Church, but the early records of that church have disappeared, either destroyed, or deposited in some place of safety that has been forgotten.

At the age of thirty-one, she married June 14, 1711, Benjamin Harnden of Reading, Massachusetts. Elizabeth's brother William left by will the greater part of his property to his brother Humphrey. His other brothers and sisters signed quitclaims to the estate. One record begins, "I, Benjamin Harnden and Elizabeth Harnden of the town of Reading in the county of Middlesex." This is dated December 2, 1720.

The Harnden family is not an easy one to trace. The first difficulty is in the spelling of the name: Harenden, Harndell, Harnden, Hornden, Herndin, Horndell—are a few of the variations of the surname.

Elizabeth's husband, Benjamin Harnden, the son of Richard, was born April 24, 1671, four months after Elizabeth had been born at Andover. Benjamin Harnden first married Mary, February 10, 1690-91. Five children are given as born to Benjamin and Mary, the last record being of twins, June 19, 1699. The date of the death of his first wife is not known. As stated above, he married Elizabeth Holt, June 14, 1711. The birth of Berckus, son of Benjamin Harnden and Elizabeth, is recorded at Reading in 1712.

The Harnden families lived in the part of Reading that was annexed in 1729 to Wilmington. In the Wilmington records the deaths of Elizabeth and Benjamin are recorded. Elizabeth, wife of Benjamin, died December 21, 1734. Benjamin, son of Richard and Mary, died May 30, 1740. On the twenty-second of May 1740 Benjamin Harnden of Wilmington, husbandman, made his will. In the opening he said: "Being very sick and weak of body but of perfect mind and memory, thanks be given unto God therefore, calling unto mind the mortality of my body and knowing that it is appointed for all

men once to die, do make and ordain this my last will and testament." Two sons and two daughters are mentioned in this document which was probated in 1740.

But after years of hard work, painful thrift and self sacrifice all there was to leave was a couple of good cows, a yoke of oxen, "the cows and oxen I lent to my son Samuel", and the household goods, the latter "to be divided equally between his two daughters."

OLIVER³, THE SON OF HENRY²

Oliver³, the second child and oldest son of Henry² and Sarah (Ballard) Holt, was born at Andover, January 14, 1672.

He learned the trade of a blacksmith, said to have been very lucrative; the blacksmith not only shod the horses and the oxen, but shaped the andirons and cranes, the pots that hung from them, and the beautiful latches for the panelled doors.

March 9, 1697-98, he married Hannah Russell, the daughter of Robert Russell, whose history is given in the story of Nicholas. Hannah was born at Andover, June 28, 1679, and consequently was sixteen years younger than her sister Mary, who married Oliver's Uncle Nicholas the very year that Hannah was born. The daughters Mary, Sarah, Hannah and Elizabeth are mentioned in Robert Russell's will.

Hannah joined the South Church October 4, 1713. A little over a month later Oliver also joined the church. Hannah died May 16, 1715, aged thirty-two years.

A little over a year later, Oliver went to Newbury for his second wife. He married there July 10, 1716, Mary Huse, the daughter of Thomas and Hannah Huse.

Thomas Huse was the son of Abell Huse and Mary (Sears) Huse, who had been married at Newbury May 25,

1663. Their son Thomas was born at Newbury August 9, 1666. No record is at Newbury of his marriage to Hannah. Thomas Huse died at Newbury November 7, 1733, age sixty-nine years. His wife Hannah died April 12, 1737, aged sixty-five years.

Mary Huse was born March 3, 1690-91 and was consequently twenty years younger than Oliver.

Few records of Oliver Holt have come down to us. December 2, 1720, he signed a quitclaim to the estate of his brother William as Oliver Holt, blacksmith. March 30, 1730-31 he received of Nicholas and Timothy Holt, administrators of the estate of Moses Holt, 6^s, 3^d for smith work.

Oliver died at Andover December 24, 1747, aged seventy-six.

His second wife, Mary, had joined the South Church March 20, 1720. According to the church record she was buried September 1, 1778, aged eighty-eight years.

HENRY³, SON OF HENRY².

Henry³ Holt, the son of Henry² and Sarah (Ballard) Holt, was born January 24, 1673. About 1700 he married Martha. It has not been possible to find the maiden name of his wife, Martha. He left no will, and the land deeds have been searched. He and his wife Martha conveyed land, but her maiden name is not given. The Genealogical Rooms in Boston give no information in regard to her name. Any student of genealogy knows that often important facts are stumbled upon. Possibly the maiden name of Martha may appear when the searcher is seeking something else.

In the quitclaim to the estate of his brother William, Henry signed himself husbandman.

Gradually the old South Church grew too small for

its parishioners. A committee was appointed to draw plans for a new church. This meeting house was to be sixty feet long, forty-four feet wide, and thirty feet between plate and sill. The Holts were particularly interested, for Henry Holt and Timothy Holt were on the committee for carrying on the work of the new house.

A description of this second meeting house in the South Parish has been left to us in a letter which Hon. Josiah Quincy wrote to Mrs. Stowe of his recollections of it when he was a student at Phillips Academy during the years 1778-1786.

A large part of the third generation had passed away at this time, but the description given by Josiah Quincy was true of the church at least a decade before his time. He writes:

“It was surrounded by horse blocks innumerable, with a disproportionate number of sheds, for the pillion was the ladies’ travelling delight, alone or in pairs, with their husbands or fathers, they seldom failed to come trooping to their devotions. The church had three lofty stories, with three galleries in the interior, always densely filled with apparently pious zeal and earnest listeners. In the left-hand gallery sat the ladies, in the right, the gentlemen, in the midst of whom and in front sat the tything-man with his white pole three or four cubits in length the emblem of his dignity and power, and in his right hand a short hazel rod, which, ever and anon, in the midst of the sermon, to the awakening and the alarm of the whole congregation, he would, with the whole force of his arm, bring down with a ringing slap on the front of the gallery, shaking it, at the same time, with a terrific menace, at two or three frightened urchins who were whispering or playing in a corner. In a square box in front of the pulpit sat the deacons, one of whom had pen, ink and paper, and was carefully taking the heads of the preacher’s discourse, preparing documentary evidence

either that the sermon was old, or its doctrines new, or consonant with the orthodox platform. In the front gallery sat Precenter Ames or Eames with a pitch pipe, the token of his authority, with which, as soon as the psalm was read, he gave the note to the choir of both sexes, twenty or thirty of each,—following the Deacon, reading line by line in an ecstasy of harmony which none but the lovers of music realize.

“The windows of the vast building were of diamond shaped glass, panes of rhomboid form, in length about three or four inches, in breadth perhaps about two or three. Opening like doors outward, these windows were loose and shackling. In the winter, when the north wind shook the vast building with uncontrollable power, their rattling was often a match and sometimes an overmatch, for the voice of the clergyman, while the pious females in the pews, sitting, for the most part, on hard benches, with small muffs, and their feet only comforted with small stoves, or stockings over shoes, or heated bricks, have much ado through their sufferings to keep their attention fixed, or the text in memory, and register the infinitesimal heads into which it was divided.”

Although Henry and his wife attended this church, they had died long before Josiah Quincy appeared in Andover, and the good minister, Samuel Phillips, had also gone to his reward.

Henry Holt³ died June 10, 1751, aged seventy-eight years. His wife Martha died three years later, November 15, 1754, in her seventy-sixth year.

JAMES³, SON OF HENRY²

James³, son of Henry and Sarah (Ballard) Holt, was born at Andover Sept. 3, 1675.

In his thirtieth year he married Susannah, daughter of Samuel Preston, one of the Preston boys that the widow

Martha took with her to her new home when she married Nicholas Holt.

At the time of his mother's marriage to Nicholas Holt¹, Samuel Preston was sixteen years of age. Six years later, May 27, 1672, he married at Andover Susannah Gutterson, the daughter of John Gutterson, whose name appears on the early tax-list of the town. Samuel Preston took up his abode in that part of Andover still known as Preston Plain, near the present town of Ballardvale. Susannah, the wife of Samuel, died December 29, 1710. Three years later her widower married John Blodgett's widow, Mary. Samuel survived his first wife Susannah by a quarter of a century or more. He died at Andover, July 10, 1738.

Susannah, the oldest daughter of Samuel and Susannah (Gutterson) Preston, was born at Andover March 30, 1677, and so was in her twenty-eighth year when she married James³ Holt, May 24, 1705.

What a gathering of Holts and their relatives there must have been every Sunday morning in the South Parish Church! James³ and Susannah joined the church October 4, 1719.

It was about this time that the brothers and sisters signed quitclaims to the estate of their brother William. James³ Holt signed as cordwinder*.

James³ probably died a little before November, 1732. On November 1, 1732, the inventory of his estate is ap-

*Cordwinder is an older form of cordwainer, or shoemaker. The making of shoes was such an important industry in the city of Lynn, not far from Andover, that a corporation of shoemakers is spoken of by Edward Johnson of Woburn in his book "Wonder Working Providence" published in 1651. If he followed the usual custom, James Holt travelled from house to house, taking the measurements of the family for new shoes, and delivered them when finished. Retired shoemakers of Lynn used to relate how the shop of the shoemaker was the center for political discussions, for the follower of St. Crispin could ply his needle and awl, while his mind was actively engaged upon other subjects, and he could hold his own in any discussion and still continue his work.

proved and a quitclaim dated November 25, 1738, signed by Barzillai Holt of Lancaster, in the county of Essex, states, "have received of my brother James of Andover the sum of seventy pounds in bills of credit which is my full content out of the whole estate of my honored father, Mr. James Holt, deceased."

Susannah died February 20, 1741-42. Neither death is given in the vital statistics of Andover but the death of his widow Susannah is in the records of the South Parish Church.

GEORGE³, SON OF HENRY²

George³ was the fifth child in the family of Henry² and Sarah. Later he was blessed with nine younger brothers and sisters. He was born at Andover March 17, 1676--7, very soon after the close of King Phillip's War.

George³ had little more than passed his twenty-first birthday when he took upon himself the duties of the head of the family. He married May 10, 1698 Elizabeth Farnum. This Elizabeth was George's cousin, a daughter of Ralph Farnum.

A land deed executed by George Holt proves that she was the daughter of Ralph Farnum, deceased "since April 1715."

George and Elizabeth had fourteen years of married life. She joined the South Parish Church August 24, 1714. She died about a month later, September 28, 1714.

In less than half a year, February 22, 1714-15, George married for his second wife Priscilla Preston, daughter of Samuel and Susannah (Gutterson) Preston, and a younger sister of Susannah, the wife of George's brother James.

Priscilla was born at Andover March 19, 1695-96,

and so was eighteen years younger than her sister Susannah and only nineteen at the time of her marriage. But Priscilla lacked the vitality of her older sister. While Susannah lived to more than three score, Priscilla died soon after her first wedding anniversary, and a few months after her twentieth birthday. The bare record states "Priscilla wife of George Holt childbed January 29, 1715-16."

With a brood of motherless children to care for, George³ Holt sought a third wife. About a year after the death of Priscilla, he married Mary Bixby, June 7, 1717, the daughter of Daniel Bixby and Hannah (Chandler) Bixby.

Daniel Bixby, whose name by the way is spelled Baxby, Bixby, Bigsbie and Bixbe, was one of the early proprietors of Andover. He married December 2, 1674 Hannah Chandler. In 1692 Daniel paid his rate for the minister in the South End of the town. Daniel and Hannah both became members of the South Church. Daniel died at Andover May 7, 1717, age sixty-six years. Hannah died at Andover, November 20, 1730.

Mary, the daughter of Daniel and Hannah, was born April 10, 1693, and was sixteen years younger than George.

George³ remained in Andover several years after this third marriage. He signed the quitclaim to his brother William's estate in 1620. While he is not given as one of the members of the South Church, he was an assessor of the South Parish from 1722 through 1725, a period of four years.

In course of time he followed his younger brother Paul to Windham, Connecticut. In 1726 he is said to have bought land of Ebenezer Abbee, at Hampton, and settled there. His farm lay across Little River, southeast of the meeting house.

He died June 29, 1748. His will was recorded July 12, 1748. In this will he names himself George Holt of Windham in the County of Windham, husbandman. He left to his wife Mary her dowry of thirds in his estate as long as she should remain his widow and no longer. But if she married again, she was to have her clothing, her furniture, and five pounds in money, and all the household goods during her life. But at her decease, the household goods were to be delivered to his daughters.

He left all his real estate to be divided between his two sons, Jonathan and Nehemiah, whom he named his executors.

This will is preserved in the State Library at Hartford.

SARAH³, THE DAUGHTER OF HENRY²

Four sons were born after the first daughter Elizabeth before another girl came into the family of Henry Holt. George was less than a year and a half old when the busy Andover stork brought Sarah³. Andover says that she was born June 17, 1678, but the Essex Court Record is August 17, 1678. Whichever is correct, her stars or her husband led her to find homes in various places.

She married at Andover, February 18, 1707-8, John Cram, of Hampton Falls, then a part of Massachusetts but now of New Hampshire. He was a man of vision, for while he lived in various places, unlike the proverbial rolling stone, he gathered both moss and honor.

John Cram was the grandson of John Cram and Esther or Hester White Cram, both born in England but among the early settlers of Exeter, New Hampshire. Later they removed to Hampton, the part now known as Hampton Falls, where they both died. His wife

died at Hampton, May 17, 1677. He survived her by four years. The Hampton record reads: "died March, 1681-2, Good old John Cram, one just in his generation."

He left two sons. His younger son Thomas, probably born at Exeter about 1644, married at Hampton Falls, December 20, 1681, Elizabeth, the daughter of the Honorable Nathaniel Weare, later chief-justice of the province of New Hampshire.

Their son John was born at Hampton Falls, January 12, 1685. It was he who married Sarah Holt. Like most wives of that time, the history of Sarah must be read through the activities of her husband.

They probably lived first at Woburn, in that part afterwards set off as a part of Wilmington, where their oldest child Jonathan was born Feb. 21, 1708. In 1720, John Cram and his wife Sarah signed the quitclaim to the estate of her brother William Holt as "I, John Cram of the town of Oburn in the County of Middlesex and Sarah Cram his wife."

In 1735 a petition was made to the General Court by the men or their descendants who had taken part in the Canada Expedition of 1690, for a grant of land for a township, in consideration of their own or their ancestors' sufferings in that expedition. A grant of land six miles square was made them in what is now New Hampshire, at that time a part of Massachusetts. It was called Salem-Canada, because a large part of the men were from Salem. It was at Salem that the meetings were held for the settlement and the management of this new township.

John Cram went to Salem-Canada as early as 1737, and took a lot near what is now the North Cemetery of Lyndeborough. Sarah did not join him until later.

An incident of these early days reveals the hardships that Sarah (Holt) Cram must have endured.

The first settler of Canada-Parish was John Badger, who went there with his wife in 1738. He died the following winter. His wife left her children alone, telling them not to awaken their father, and went to the home of John Cram, two miles away, guided only by the trees, for help. The assistance given her by the Crams, the hollowing out of a tree for the rude coffin, the simple burial service under the trees,—these were some of the things that welded neighbor to neighbor. But also these hardships that must be borne, these constant conflicts, gave the set mouth and the stern look to the eyes so often seen in the early portraits of these pioneers.

In 1738 it was voted by the proprietors at Salem that Mr. John Cram should have twenty pounds bills of credit and lot number 39 of the second division if he build and keep in repair for fifteen years a good and sufficient saw-mill. Another mill was built before his, and his was not finished at the time stipulated, but the proprietors voted that he had performed his agreement as well as possible under the circumstances, and he received the land and the money.

In 1741 he was one of the men selected to choose a minister, and his name is frequently met with in the meetings of Salem-Canada.

That part of Salem-Canada where John Cram lived later became Lyndenborough. Grant in his "History of Lyndenborough", from which most of the above facts are taken, states that, according to records preserved in the family of Mr. Andrew Harvard but now lost, Sarah (Holt), the wife of John Cram, died at Lyndenborough, September or October 1757. John Cram died at Amherst, New Hampshire, 1759. The historian of Lyndenborough adds:

"This ended an active, honored, prosperous and useful life."

JOSIAH³ SON OF HENRY²

Josiah³ was the seventh child in a family that grew to number fourteen children. He was born at Andover, December 13, 1679. Nothing more is heard of him until June 8, 1710, when, at the age of thirty, he married Mary Lovejoy, the daughter of William and Mary Lovejoy of Andover.

William Lovejoy, the son of John Lovejoy and Mary (Osgood) Lovejoy, married Mary Farnum November 29, 1680. They settled in the South Parish and William was one of the first deacons. Mary (Farnum) Lovejoy died December 25, 1739. Deacon William died July 9, 1748, aged ninety-two years.

The same year the Massachusetts colony determined to capture Arcadia, the breeding place of the Indian massacres that had brought such sorrow to Haverhill and other Massachusetts towns. Among those appointed to keep snowshoes and moccasins were the brothers Josiah and Paul Holt.

The story of Mary Lovejoy, the first wife of Josiah, is brief. She was born at Andover, November 15, 1685. Both she and Josiah united with the South Parish Church, September 25, 1718. She died at Andover July 5, 1724.

Josiah married for his second wife, December 22, 1726, Hepzibah Barker, daughter of William and Mary (Dix) Barker, and a sister to Hannah Barker who married Edward Gray. Hepzibah was born at Andover, March 24, 1686-87. She was a member of the south Parish Church.

Josiah died October 23, 1754. He left a widow but no children.

His will, probated January 20, 1755, shows that he left a large estate. In it he calls himself Josiah Holt of Andover, yeoman.

He first left to his well-beloved wife, Hepzibah Holt, "all that part of his household goods that she had brought or caused to be brought into his house. He left her the east part of his dwelling and one hundred and fifty pounds in letters of credit."

He left the rest of his property to John Fiske husbandman, "who for many years hath been in my service, acquitting himself a faithful and prudent man in the mangement of my affairs."

The will stipulated that this property went to John Fiske and the heirs of his body, but if there were none, the property was to be divided among Josiah's brothers and sisters.

Josiah's widow died at Andover, May 7, 1769, aged eighty-two years.

DINAH³ THE DAUGHTER OF HENRY²

Josiah had barely left the cradle when Dinah came to occupy it. She was born at Andover May 23, 1681, when her oldest sister Elizabeth was nearly eleven years old. Dinah married Daniel Pierce of Woburn July 3, 1705.

Several families of the name of Pierce came to this country before 1700. The direct ancestor of Daniel Pierce was Thomas Pierce, who came from England in 1633-4 with his wife Elizabeth and settled at Charlestown, Massachusetts. Thomas died October 7, 1666. Their son, later known as Sergeant Thomas Pierce, was born in 1608. He was admitted into the church at Charlestown in February 21, 1634. May 6, 1635, he married Elizabeth Cole. They resided at Charlestown, now Woburn. Thomas died November 6, 1683. Elizabeth died March 5, 1688. John, the son of Thomas and Elizabeth (Cole) Pierce, was born at Woburn March 7, 1643. He married July 1, 1663, Deborah Convers,

the daughter of James Convers of Woburn. She was born July 25, 1647. John Pierce, called Ensign John, died March 25, 1720. His will, dated April 26, 1716, names his wife Deborah, and his sons, among them Daniel.

Daniel, the son of Ensign John and Deborah (Convers) Pierce, was born at Woburn, October 7, 1676. Daniel and his wife, Dinah Holt, resided for many years at Woburn, where many children were born to them, the youngest Kezia, in 1723. Sometime after this they moved to Wilmington.

Dinah, the wife of Daniel, died at Wilmington, January 7, 1738.

Six years before this, parts of Groton, Lancaster and Stowe were taken to form the new town of Harvard. There Daniel Pierce Jr. took up his abode. Here at Harvard, the abode of his son, Daniel, the husband of Dinah Holt, died March 14, 1754 in his seventy-seventh year.

PAUL³ THE SON OF HENRY²

Paul, the sixth son and ninth child of Henry and Sarah (Ballard) Holt, was born at Andover, February 7, 1684. Probably about this time appeared the naughty "younger generation". Was it any of the grandchildren of Nicholas Holt that made it necessary for the selectmen to take cognizance of their conduct? Imagine, if you will, the church with its gallery in the rear. Here sat the children, the boys on one side and the girls on the other, and probably about twenty of them were grandchildren of Nicholas Holt. In 1695 the selectmen appointed two persons to sit in the gallery to inspect the young on the Sabbath. They were required to give the names of disorderly persons to the minister, who was requested for the first offense to admonish them publicly.

On the second offense, complaint was to be made to a justice of the peace, that the offender might be punished for such crimes as the law directs.

The children of that time were evidently the same as to-day; only then their misconduct was due to "original sin", to be whipped out of them.

Paul is not recorded as having received any punishment, nor are any of the others. The fear of it kept them in order. The first reference to Paul as a young man is in the muster-roll of the New England troops at Annapolis Royal, October 1710-1711, when he was one of those appointed to keep snowshoes and moccasins.

The following year, January 10, 1711-12, he married his cousin, Abigail Holt, the daughter of his Uncle Nicholas. The story of Abigail and her disappearance is told later.

Although Abigail joined the South Parish Church, Paul's name is not given. Probably he remained a member of the North Church, as it is unthinkable that a Holt of that day had no church affiliations.

When and where Paul's wife Abigail died, and when Paul went to Connecticut, are unknown. It must have been before 1720, as neither of their names appears upon the quitclaim deed to the estate of Paul's brother William. The first mention of Paul in Hampton, Connecticut, is the birth of Paul, August 21, 1721, the son of Paul and Sarah Holt. This is given in the printed vital records of Hampton kept at the State Library at Hartford. No original document of any kind has been found to verify or disprove this statement. No record has been found of the maiden name of Sarah. The problem is complicated by the fact that a manuscript known as the Weaver Manuscript is preserved at the Historical Rooms at Hartford. This gives data about the descendants of Nicholas Holt in Connecticut but is inaccurate. There is a refer-

ence, partly crossed out, to the mother of Paul as Sarah "Ball ard" which led one historian to say that Paul married Sarah Ball. Even the manuscript does not bear this out. Durrie in the Holt Genealogy states that Paul, born in 1721, was the son of Paul and Abigail. Since Sarah, the sister of Abigail, also disappears from the records, it has been suggested that Paul married Sarah. But at that time the English law was the law of the Colonists, and this forbade a man to marry his deceased wife's sister.

Paul Holt died at Hampton, Connecticut, May 7, 1742. According to the printed record, Sarah, the wife of Paul, died at Hampton, August 12, 1742. According to Durrie, Abigail, the wife of Paul, died at Hampton, August 12, 1742.

Probably some day a record will be found giving the true facts. But so far Sarah seems a myth, simply a confusion, and Abigail seems to have been the mother of Paul of the fourth generation.

WILLIAM³ THE SON OF HENRY²

After Paul came William, born at Andover February 3, 1687.

William Holt evidently lived at home, as he was unmarried. He survived his father but a few months. He died at Andover December 22, 1719. About two months before his death he made his will; in this he calls himself husbandman, and states that he is very ill.

His will reads: "I give to my honored mother all my houses and all my lands and half my stock and movables." These are to be hers during her natural life. He left the other half of his stock and movables to his brother, Humphrey Holt. He requested that his brother Humphrey should inhabit his dwelling house,

and obliged him to do so if his mother desired it. He forbade his selling any part of the lands or anything else until he had given the refusal to "My other natural brothers."

There are other bequests. He left his nephew, Benjamin Holt, the son of Oliver, ten pounds. But this will, probated December 28, 1719, No. 13702 at the Probate Court in Salem, is a genuine mine for the genealogist. The brothers and brothers-in-law of William Holt signed quitclaims to his estate and their signatures are witnessed by other members of the family, so that it is almost an autograph album of Holts. The quitclaims were signed by Oliver Holt, blacksmith; Henry Holt, husbandman; James Holt, cordwinder; George Holt, Josiah Holt, both husbandmen; and the brothers-in-law for themselves and their wives: Benjamin Harnden and Elizabeth Harnden in the town of Reading in the county of Middlesex; John Cram of the town of Oborn in the County of Middlesex and Sarah Cram; Jonathan Abbott and Zerviah Abbott; and Keturah Holt, at that time single.

Dinah did not sign it. Possibly she was too far away. Neither did Paul sign it.

So the homestead of Henry Holt, the son of Nicholas, passed to his son, Humphrey Holt.

ZERVIAH³ THE DAUGHTER OF HENRY²

Zerviah Holt was born at Andover March 24, 1688-9, the eleventh in the family of Henry and Sarah (Ballard) Holt. When she was twenty-four years of age, May 6, 1713, she married Jonathan Abbot, the son of Benjamin and Sarah (Farnum) Abbot. The latter was a granddaughter of Nicholas Holt, so that Jonathan, the husband of Zerviah, was the fourth in descent from

Nicholas. He was also a cousin to Hannah, the wife of Abiel Holt, and Dorcas, the wife of Nicholas, all descendants from George Abbot Sr.

Jonathan Abbot was born September, 1687.

The year after their marriage, they both became members of the South Church. They lived at Andover. They signed the quitclaim to the estate of William Holt.

In the church books is the record: Zerviah Abbot, removed by death, March 26, 1768, aged eighty years. Jonathan Abbot, removed by death, March 21, 1770, aged eighty-three years.

KETURAH³ THE DAUGHTER OF HENRY²

Keturah, the youngest daughter of Henry and Sarah (Ballard) Holt, was born at Andover, December 15, 1690. She lived quietly at home during her early life. In 1720, she signed the quitclaim to the estate of her brother William. At the age of thirty-four, she married her cousin, Joshua Holt of Windham. This marriage probably took place at Andover, since Joshua recorded his intentions there. In the Andover records, it is given as having taken place February 23, 1724-25; in the records of Windham, February 16, 1724-25.

Joshua owned the covenant of the church at Hampton, December 13, 1724; Keturah owned the covenant, March 6, 1728. They were both received in full communion March 4, 1732, the last year of Mr. Billings' pastorate.

Keturah seems to have had a small family compared to the families about her. She lived to be ninety years of age. She died at Hampton, October 2, 1781, the last of the grandchildren of Nicholas Holt.

HUMPHREY³ THE SON OF HENRY²

Humphrey Holt was born September 22, 1693. He declared his intentions December 30, 1715, and, probably in 1716, married Abigail Fifield of Hampton.

As has been stated before, he inherited a large property from his brother William Holt.

Abigail Fifield, the wife of Humphrey Holt, was descended from William Fifield, who went from Newbury to Hampton in 1639. The death record, December 18, 1700, styles him "Ould William—above 80".

Abigail Fifield's birth is not recorded, so one can only guess from which one of the sons of William she was descended. The best guess seems to be from Benjamin. Benjamin, born about 1646, died August 1, 1706, married Mary Colcord. Benjamin had a son John, born November 21, 1671. Benjamin also had children named Shuah and Mehitable. His son John married Abigail, and they moved to Kingston, New Hampshire. It seems reasonable that this John may have had a daughter Abigail, but we know that he had children named Shuah and Mehitable.

Humphrey Holt and his wife Abigail named two of their children Shuah and Mehitable. There must have been strong reasons for bestowing such names on helpless infancy.

Abigail outlived her husband, as he mentions her in his will. But her death is not recorded (the Abigail, wife of Humphrey, whose death is recorded in 1808 aged 81, was the wife of a Humphrey of the next generation).

Humphrey died August 8, 1754, in his sixty-first year.

In his will, approved October 14, 1754, he left to "Abigail my well beloved wife", the east room with the chambers over it and as much of the cellar as she had occasion to use as long as she should remain his widow.

He also left her large amounts of "meal, pork, beef, salt, flax, rum, molasses, shugger and tobacco." He left to his eldest son, Fifield Holt, lands, meadows and dwellings in Andover. His estate was valued at 305 lbs. 17s 2d.

BENJAMIN³ THE SON OF HENRY²

Benjamin, the fourteenth and youngest child of Henry and Sarah (Ballard) Holt was born in Andover July 8, 1696. He died in Andover September 15, 1703, at the age of seven.

CHAPTER VIII.

NICHOLAS², SON OF NICHOLAS¹, AND HIS CHILDREN

NICHOLAS² HOLT, the third son of Nicholas¹ and his wife Elizabeth Short, according to Durrie, was born at Andover in 1647. At that time, the proprietors of Andover were forbidden to remove to the farmlands that had been allotted to them, but for the sake of mutual protection were compelled to live on their house lots, which were placed near together about the spot where now lies the old graveyard in North Andover. Here probably Nicholas was born.

A glance at the birth statistics reveals the fact that he had children a-plenty to play with; and doubtless these first Americans grew excited over London Bridge, Ring around Rosie, Fox and Geese, Morris, and other old English games which they have handed down to their descendants.

These children were for the most part well and strong. They had plenty of fresh air and exercise. And what good things they had to eat! The forests were full of game. They had venison, roasted bear's meat, which tastes like pork only better, hare, partridge, quail, and if they wished it, four and twenty blackbirds, or any birds, baked into a pie. The rivers were full of fish: trout, pickerel, shad; and the sea was not far distant with cod, mackerel, bluefish, and every other kind of fish. Great lobsters weighing from sixteen to twenty-five pounds abounded. Turnips, parsnips, and carrots were said to be larger and sweeter than any found in England. Then there was corn; hasty-pudding made of corn meal, and hulled corn, learned from the Indians. And apples, pears and quince. And the children often found honey in the hollows of the trees, secreted there by the wild bees.

But if any child fell sick! Governor Winthrop had brought remedies from England furnished him by authorities on *materia medica*. An infallible remedy against fever was to put live toads into an earthen pot, and bake and burn them in the open air until they were reduced to a black powder. "For the ague, pare the patients' nails as the fit is coming on, and put the parings into a little bag of fine linen or sarsenet, and tie about a live eel's neck in a tub of water. The eel will die and the patient will recover." A book of medicine of the time of Queen Elizabeth's sounds like the ingredients of the witches' cauldron in Macbeth. But in course of time, the pioneer mothers learned from the Indians simple cures from herbs that grew around them.

The education of these children was not neglected. The very year that Nicholas² was born, the Massachusetts Colony voted that every community of fifty families or more should establish a free school to teach reading, writing and arithmetic, and that every community of one hundred families or more should establish a grammar school to teach Latin and Greek. The Reverend Francis Dane, the minister of the Congregational Church, then the only church in Andover, opened a school in his own house; there were also dame's schools for the smaller children.

But the soul of young Nicholas² must have been thrilled by the action of the General Court upon the Restoration of Charles the Second, when the charter was threatened. The General Court published a declaration of their natural chartered rights. These were, in brief, to choose their own magistrates and to exercise through them all legislative, executive and judicial power as long as they were not repugnant to the laws of England; and to reject as an infringement of their rights any parliamentary or royal imposition prejudicial to the country or contrary to their legislation. Their neighbor, Simon Bradstreet, was on the committee. This was still in the days of

the Founders, who had fled from the tyranny of kings. And so young Nicholas Holt, and his brothers and sisters, received their first lessons in the principles of Democracy. Perhaps this was the first impetus that over a hundred years later sent seventeen Holts from Andover to the defence of Bunker Hill.

Gradually a few of the families left the center and lived on their farms. The farm of Nicholas Holt lay to the northward, where he built his house and established his home on a broad hill over four hundred feet in height, the highest land in Essex County, which was known as Holt's Hill and Prospect Hill. Here now is situated Noke Farm, the summer home of Mr. Charles W. Ward of Brookline, one of the descendants of Nicholas Senior. That Nicholas was here before 1675 is attested by an old record dated "Ye 8 off 1st Month, 1674-5." The words are used, "near a highway going up to his house", referring to Nicholas Holt Sr.

Where on his six hundred acres Nicholas Sr. built his house is unknown, but it was probably north of the present house. Here are evidences of a stockade and five old apple trees, one with five large trunks from a common root, the largest being sixty-six inches in circumference. It is pleasant to think that this ancestor planted these trees by his door, and gratifying to know that they still bear apples abundantly, almost an apple a year for each one of his descendants.

From Holt's Hill is an extended view of the Merrimac River, as it flows between wooded hills and grassy meadows; on a clear day Mount Monadnock in New Hampshire rises above the horizon, and in another direction is the glint of the State House dome in Boston. On Holt's Hill the people gathered in 1775 and watched the flames of burning Charlestown with anxious hearts, for many Andover men were in the Battle of Bunker Hill. But this was in the future. At that time they watched for the skulking Indian, a soldier of King

Phillip; or the prowling wolf; or perhaps they saw what has been witnessed by people now living, a flock of crows, three miles in length, flying overhead and casting darkness over the land.

But the most momentous question to the Holts at that time was that of Hymen, for Father Holt and his sons and daughters were engaged in marrying or being married. While Father Holt went away from Andover to find the two widows whom he married in succession after the death of his first wife, Elizabeth Short, his sons sought their consorts among the daughters of their neighbors. And so we see Nicholas², the third son of the founder, making his way down the hill over the two or three miles to that part of Andover known as Scotland from the nationality of its owner, Robert Russell.

By tradition Robert Russell was a son of Sir Robert Russell of Scotland; by inference he was born in 1630; by the records he married Mary Marshall at Andover, July 6, 1659, and died at Andover December 13, 1710, about eighty years of age. A local historian calls him "the mysterious", as there is no positive record of the place of his birth or of the time that he came to America. His name does not appear upon the first list of freeholders of Andover, but is found upon the later lists after 1661. In the two genealogies, "The Descendants of William Russell of Cambridge" by Hezekiah Stone Russell, published in 1900, and "The Ancestors and Descendants of Abel Russell" by Arthur J. Russell and Mrs. S. R. Child, published in 1922, the Russells of Andover are not mentioned.

But that part of Andover which formerly belonged to Robert Russell was known then and now as Scotland; and there still stands an old mansion that was the home of the Russells for eight generations. And what a hospitable home it is, with doors on every side, and a long central hall going leisurely from the front door to the door in the rear with four large rooms opening from it!

The high gently sloping roof makes even the attics on the third floor sunny and commodious. Then there is the long ell, the sheds, and the barns, the orchards and the meadows stretching to the woodlands. But probably it was to an earlier home that Robert Russell brought his young bride of sixteen, Mary Marshall. There is no direct proof of the parentage of Mary Marshall, the ancestress of so many Holts; but she may have been the daughter of Thomas Marshall and his wife Joanna, both of whom died in Andover, the former, Jan. 15, 1708 and the latter four months later, May 16th, 1708, each nearly a hundred years old.

Robert Russell died December 13, 1710. He was the first person to be buried in the South Parish Church graveyard. His widow, Mary Russell, was one of the early members of the South Parish Church. She died January 14, 1716, about seventy-four years of age.

Robert Russell in his will mentions four daughters; three of these married Holts.

Mary, the eldest daughter, was born Jan. 14, 1661. It was some years later that Nicholas Holt was making his way down the hill and walking the two or three miles through the woods to the section called Scotland, attracted by the young girl, fourteen years younger than himself. Did he carry in his pockets some of the delicious beechnuts, or a bouquet of the shy fringed gentian, or perhaps a wooden bowl that he himself had carved out of a piece of hard oak? At any rate he found favor in her eyes, and the two were married, Jan. 8, 1679. He took his wife doubtless to his home on Holt Hill, but it is not known whether they lived in the house by the orchard or the later house west of the pump. But it was not the house that is now standing.

This marriage introduced a new element into the Holt blood. The children of Nicholas the founder lived and died within view of the ascending smoke of the pater-

nal hearth, so to speak. The grandchildren who did not have the Russell blood have been for the most part contented to stay at home and help to make Andover the most beautiful village in Massachusetts. But of the eleven children of Nicholas Holt and Mary Russell, only two sons and one daughter are known to have lived, married and died in Andover. If any Holt of to-day finds that his Holt ancestors were constantly seeking new homes, they were probably descended from Robert Russell and his wife, Mary Marshall.

There were no theatres in those days, but the drama of life must have been exciting. The actors and the spectators were one, and so busy were they that there was seldom time for a dress rehearsal. In 1675-76, a short time before the marriage of Nicholas and Mary, had occurred King Phillip's War; then followed King Williams' War; the epidemic of smallpox; the witchcraft trials, and King William's War; so that there were many fruitful subjects for conversation as neighbor met neighbor.

But Nicholas and his wife took little part in this drama of life excepting to care for their eleven children, all of whom reached years of maturity. On the list of taxpayers of the town of Andover in 1692, the names of Nicholas Holt, and Hannah Holt (the widow of his brother James), appear for the north part of the town, and the names of Samuel and Henry for the south part.

Nicholas² decreed that at his death the land where he dwelt should be divided between his sons, Nicholas and Thomas, the latter to have the house. The land was to be divided equally, except that Nicholas was to have three acres more than Thomas.

Nicholas² and Mary both became members of the South Parish Church, of which the Rev. Samuel Phillips was pastor.

Nicholas² died October 8, 1715. In less than two years

the widow of Nicholas died, April 1, 1717. Nicholas was survived by his oldest sister Hannah Gray, and by his older brother Henry.

MARY³ THE DAUGHTER OF NICHOLAS AND MARY

A little over a year after the marriage of Nicholas Holt and Mary Russell, their first child, a daughter, was born, also named Mary. After her natal day Feb. 13, 1680, the next important recorded event in her life was her wedding day, Sept. 19th, 1705, when she was united to Josiah Ingalls, the son of Henry Ingalls and Mary (Osgood) Ingalls, and grandson of Edmund Ingalls, who had come to America in 1628 with Governor Endicott. Josiah was also the cousin of Sarah and Hannah Allen, the wives respectively of Samuel and James Holt.

Henry Ingalls, the father of Josiah, born at Skirbeck, Lincolnshire, England, in 1627, had lived at Salem and Lynn, but later removed to Andover, where he became a prominent man in the colony. July 6, 1653, he was married to Mary Osgood, by the magistrate, Mr. Simon Bradstreet; this is the first recorded marriage in Andover. Mary Osgood, born in England in 1633, was the daughter of John and Sarah Osgood. Her father was born in the parish of Wherwell, Hampshire, England, July 23, 1595. In the list of the proprietors of Andover in the order in which they came to the settlement, John Osgood's name is second, next to that of Mr. Simon Bradstreet. He was the town's first representative to the General Court, but he attended only the May session, as he died at Andover, Oct. 24, 1651. In his will he remembers his wife Sarah, and also writes: "I do give and bequeath to my daughter Mary 25 pounds to be paid at 18 years of age in country's pay." He also entreated John Clement of Haverhill and Nicholas Holt of Andover "to be overseers of this my last will and testament."

Josiah Ingalls, who later married Mary Holt, was born at Andover, Feb. 28, 1676. When he was ten years of age, his mother died, Dec. 16, 1686. Three years later, Aug. 1, 1689, his father married Sarah (Farnum) Abbot, the widow of George Abbot Jr., known as George Abbot of Rowley.

Henry Ingalls died Feb. 8, 1719, about ninety years of age. In his will he wrote: "I give to my son Josiah twenty acres of land within my farm lying in the south west of my land."

This land of Henry Ingalls was in North Andover, near the land owned by the Farnums. Mary Holt had died, Feb. 19, 1714-15, and Josiah had already married his second wife, Esther Frye, when he inherited this land from his father.

Josiah died at Andover Aug. 14, 1755, in his seventy-ninth year.

NICHOLAS³ THE SON OF NICHOLAS²

Nicholas³, the eldest son of Nicholas² and Mary (Russell) Holt, was born in Andover, Dec. 31, 1683. He was the only grandchild of Nicholas Holt who was named for him; possibly he was born in the same house where his grandfather Nicholas Holt died two years later. During his early life the people of Andover lived in fear of the Indians. A law passed in 1695 brings vividly to mind another constant danger;—it was voted in that year that twenty shillings be given for every wolf caught and carried to the constable, certainly a large reward when reduced to the present value of money.

The early life of Nicholas³ seems to have been uneventful, and the first record we have of him is his marriage at Andover to Mary Manning, Sept. 16, 1708.

It has not been possible to trace the parentage or date of birth of this Mary Manning. At this time there were several prominent families of this name in New England.

In the Manning genealogy written by Mr. William H. Manning of North Billerica, Massachusetts, a note states:

"From a very early date there were families and, it would seem, unconnected individuals in Essex County who bore the name of Manning. As a rule, they do not appear on records of births, marriages, and deaths, and only vague signs can now be found of them."

Probably Mary Manning belonged to this category.

Mary Manning seems to have been a frail girl for those days. After less than eight years of married life she died in childbirth, March 3, 1715-16.

But the town of Andover contained few widowers. Nicholas³ soon recorded his intentions, and on April 12, 1717, married Dorcas Abbot, a young woman fifteen years his junior.

Dorcas Abbot was born April 25, 1698, the daughter of Timothy and Hannah (Graves) Abbot. Timothy, born in 1663, was the son of George Abbot Sr., and consequently a brother of Benjamin, who married Sarah Farnum, a granddaughter of Nicholas Holt the Founder. (Note: Pope, "Pioneers of Mass.," says: "Among children of George Abbot Sr. are Benjamin, b. Dec. 20, 1661, Timothy, b. Nov. 17, 1663.") But Timothy Abbot's name has been inscribed in Andover history. In April 1676, the Indians killed Joseph Abbot and carried off his younger brother Timothy. The captive was brought home in August by a squaw, who had been tender to him while in captivity and had pity on his mother. But the chronicle adds that "he was almost pined with hunger."

Timothy Abbot and Hannah Graves were married at Andover, Dec. 27, 1689. The birth of neither of them is recorded in the Andover records. Wherever this Hannah may have been born, she joined the South Parish Church May 10, 1713, and died in Andover, Nov. 16, 1726. Timothy Abbot in his will probated September

21, 1730, mentions three children, Timothy, Hannah, unmarried, and Dorcas. He writes:

“To Dorcas, my youngest daughter, 21 lbs. 10s which with 48 lbs. 10s before given make up 70 lbs.”

Nicholas Holt³ and Dorcas Holt signed a quitclaim in consideration of payment.

Nicholas³ received lands from his father and Dorcas had received a rich gift from her father, so that they were well provided for.

It was about this time that the third house was built on Holt's Hill. Whether the first gathering of friends in the new house was for funeral rites of the gentle Mary Manning, or to welcome the young bride, Dorcas Abbot, is all a matter of the imagination. But it stands to-day, staunch and strong, and still opens its hospitable doors, through the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Ward, to all Holts and antiquarians who find their way to Andover.

It takes no ghost from the past to enact the daily life that went on in the household of Nicholas Holt and his sixteen year old bride with the little children that Mary Manning had left. It is written in the timbers, the bricks, the fireplace with its kettles hanging on the crane, and the old andirons and the pewter as the house stands to-day.

But Mrs. Ward, the gracious mistress of the home that Dorcas once presided over, has beautifully described it in an article published in this volume. (See Chap. IV).

Two years after the marriage of Nicholas³ and Dorcas, they joined the South Parish Church by profession of faith, December 6, 1719.

Once more the wars with the Indians were going on. The even justice of the early settlers, the labors of missionaries like John Eliot, that had rendered the earlier days of the colonies peaceful, were rendered naught by the broils of Europe, and the rulers of England and France once more armed the Indian and sent him forth to make war on the colonists.

Louisburg, an almost impregnable fortress manned by trained soldiers, was the French stronghold from which French privateers sailed to sink English shipping and bands of Indians were sent forth to spread terror in the peaceful hamlets of New England. The English colonists conceived the almost incredible plan of capturing this fortress.

It was a little before this, while the militia was being put on a war basis, that Governor Shirley sent the following commission to Nicholas Holt:

“William Shirley, Esq., Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, in and over His Majesty’s Province of the Massachusetts-Bay in New England, &c.

“To Nicholas Holt Gentleman Greeting.

“By virtue of the power and Authority in and by His Majesty’s Royal Commission to me granted, to be Captain-General over His Majesty’s Province of the Massachusetts Bay, aforesaid, I do (by these presents) reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and Good Conduct, constitute and appoint You the said Nicholas Holt to be Lieutenant of the Second Foot Company in the Town of Andover under the Command of Capt. George Abbot in the fourth Regiment of Militia within the County of Essex whereof Richard Salstonall Esq. is Colonel . . .”

After the usual instructions it is signed as follows:

“Given under my Hand and Seal at Arms, at Boston, the Eleventh Day of October in the Seventeenth Year of the Reign of His Majesty King George the Second, Anno Domini, 1743.

(Signed) W. SHIRLEY.”

This commission is particularly valuable for there is no record of it in the Massachusetts archives. The ori-

ginal was found by Mr. Joshua Farrington Frye, of Wilton, New Hampshire, among the papers of Major Isaac Frye of Wilton, New Hampshire, whose wife was descended from Nicholas through his son Timothy. The photograph was presented to the Association by Miss Florence Adams Chase, herself a descendant of this Nicholas through Timothy, and who has written the article on "Samuel and his Children".

This commission has led to much correspondence with Miss Alice R. Farnum of Boston, who has searched the Massachusetts records to learn whether it was given to Nicholas Holt, then in his sixtieth year, or to his son Nicholas, a young man under thirty. Without doubt Nicholas Holt had the rank of Lieutenant, since he is called Lieutenant Nicholas Holt in the record of his death. If his son had been intended, he would probably have been denoted as Junior, as the Massachusetts records were kept by very careful men. Furthermore Nicholas Holt Jr. had been taught a trade by his father, so stated in his father's will. In a memorial presented to the governor of the Colony, Novemebr 25, 1757, a year after the death of his father, Nicholas Holt of Andover states that he was a Second Lieutenant in Lt. Colonel James Frye's Company in Colonel Plaisted's Regiment in the Expedition designed against Crown Point, in 1756, and that his name was struck out of the pay-roll. He requested that enquiry be made so that he may receive his pay for said services. This request was granted him and he received the money due him. In a description of Capt. James Parker's Company, 1756, Col. Plaisted's Regiment, is a Nicholas Holt, Lieutenant, Age 40 years, occupation tailor, birth place Andover, who joined from Capt. Frye's Co. This Nicholas later served with honor and distinction in the Revolution. It does not seem in accordance with custom that a man, Lieutenant in 1743, should be second lieutenant thirteen years later, especially since his Revolutionary record proves him to

Province of the Massachusetts Bay } To His Excellency Thomas
 Personal & App^o Commander in
 Chief of this Province To the Hon^{ble} His
 Majesty's Council & House of Represent-
 atives in Gen^l Court. Assembled Nov^r 23
 1757

The Memorial of Nicholas Holt of Andover
 Humbly shews

That your Memorialist was a Second Lieut^t of Capt. James
 Foyes Company in Col^l Phillips Regiment in the expedition
 designed against Crown Point in 1756 That he is not conscious
 of any Neglect of his Duty or mis Conduct in any Respect
 from the time of his entering upon that service till he was
 Butchered (for what Reason he is at a loss) his Name was
 struck out of the pay Roll so that he has not Rec^d one farthing
 for his service He doubts not but the Hon^{ble} Committee thought
 they had good Reasons for what they did in that Respect but must
 beg leave to say he is well assured they were misinformed and
 that he is able to make it appear he is wholly entitled to his pay
 He therefore humbly Prays your Excellency & Hon^{ble} would
 take his Case into Consideration and make such Inquiry concerning
 the same as you shall think proper In consequence of which he trusts
 there will be no difficulty with Respect to ordering him his pay for
 said service

And as in Duty bound will ever Pray

Nicholas Holt

have been an able officer. Perhaps some paper may come to light that will settle this question.

The expedition against Louisburg was not voted by the General Court until January, 1745. Was Lieutenant Holt one of the officers who sailed from Boston with the fleet of one hundred vessels bound for Cape Breton, under William Pepperell as Commander-in-Chief, to capture Louisburg, a fortress that had been twenty-five years in building, with walls thirty-six feet high, the stronghold of France in America? The men of the New England militia landed in April, and within two months, Louisburg was captured. In London, Boston, and New York it was a day of great celebration when the news of the capture arrived, and orators related how "the undisciplined militia of New England took Louisburg from the veteran soldiers of France." England, as everyone knows, returned it to France by the terms of the treaty of peace. But Parliament voted to reimburse the colonies for the money they had expended and the rolls of the men were sent to London, so that we have no official record of the soldiers who accomplished this almost miraculous feat.

Nicholas Holt³, or Lieutenant Nicholas Holt, as he is called in the records, died at Andover, December 1, 1756, aged seventy-three years. His will, still preserved at the Court House at Salem, was proved December 27, 1756. In it he calls himself Nicholas Holt of Andover, yeoman.*

His wife was generously remembered, and he remembered all his children and refers to what had been given them previously. To his fourth son Timothy, his first son by his second wife Dorcas, he left the bulk of his estate and named him as executor.

Dorcas, his widow, although fifteen years younger than her husband, did not long survive him. She died at Andover, October 25, 1758, aged sixty years.

* Note. Nicholas³ Holt's son, Joshua, inherited his father's military tastes. Joshua was captain of a company of minute men who, April 19, 1775, marched to Cambridge. (See S. L. Bailey. *Historical Sketches of Andover, Mass.* Houghton, Mifflin Co. 1880.)

THOMAS³, THE SON OF NICHOLAS²

Thomas³, the second son of Nicholas Holt and his wife Mary (Russell) Holt, was born at Andover, August 16, 1686. We hear nothing more about him until he became twenty-three years of age, when he recorded his intentions Dec. 14th and the next day married Alice Peabody of Boxford, December 15, 1708, the daughter of Joseph Peabody and Bethia (Bridges) Peabody.

Since two sons of Nicholas Holt² married two daughters of Joseph Peabody and there were other inter-marriages between the Holts and the Peabodys which will be noted in their place, a brief account of this family will not be amiss.*

Alice Peabody was born at Boxford January 5, 1685, and so was twenty-three years of age when she married Thomas Holt.

Thomas Holt and his wife Alice lived in the south part of the town. In 1711 his father Nicholas conveyed

* Francis Peabody, the grandfather of Alice, came to Massachusetts in the Planter in 1635. Francis in course of time had two wives, Lydia and Mary. Just when the fates cut the thread of Lydia's life and Hymen tied the knot for Mary we do not know, but a court record about a year after the birth of Joseph proves that Lydia was his mother. One Eunice Cole had to sit in the stocks and make acknowledgment of her slanderous speeches concerning Lydia Peabody, the wife of Francis Peabody. Posterity would like to know just what these slanderous speeches were. Was she accused of vanity perhaps or did she neglect Joseph who was born the year before? But with this little note Lydia joins the shades.

Later Francis Peabody moved to Topsfield, where he was active in public affairs until his death, February 19, 1698. His will, which is given entire in the Peabody Genealogy, divides his property with fairness among his children. He left different tracts of land to his different children. To his two sons, John and Joseph, he left his Boxford property; two hundred acres to John and one hundred acres to Joseph. Boxford adjoins Andover; thus this will indirectly united the two families of Holt and Peabody.

Joseph Peabody, born about 1644, married Bethia Bridges, the daughter of Edmund Bridges, October 26, 1668.

Although not as prominent in the town affairs of Boxford as his older brother John, at different times he held the office of town clerk and, of more importance to the young colony, he was a good wheelwright.

to his sons, Nicholas and Thomas, one-half of the land where he then dwelt, and the house was to belong to Thomas. "After my decease the whole to be divided equally except that Nicholas is to have three acres more than my son Thomas."

The record of the life of Alice, the wife of Thomas, is brief. She united with the South Parish Church July 7, 1723. Her life history is told in the birth of her children. The youngest child, Jonathan, was born at Andover May 18, 1726; he died June 2, 1726. Alice, the wife of Thomas, died July 29, 1726.

Thomas Holt remained a widower for more than a year, a long time for those days when there were small children and the chief interest centered in the home. He went to Boxford also for his second wife, recorded his intentions, and November 16, 1727, married Abigail Fiske, "widowe and relict of the late John Fiske of the said Boxford." Abigail Fiske, the relict of John Fiske, was born Abigail Poor, and had married John Fiske in 1710.

Thomas Holt was not inactive in the defense of his country. Probably it made little difference to the participants in the wars of that time whether they were fighting for Queen Anne or King George; their main purpose was to defend their homes from the Indians. In 1710 Thomas Holt of Captain John Barker's Company was among those authorized to keep snowshoes and moccasins in Essex County. In 1719, now in the reign of his majesty King George, he was allowed 1 lb. 10 shillings for horse-hire to the Piscataqua for the service of the government. By a resolution past November 22, 1723, Thomas Holt is given 6 lbs. for damage done to one of his horses imprest for service.

In his will, probated February 2, 1767, he calls himself Thomas Holt of Andover, husbandman.

He left to his eldest son Thomas his homestead lands and the buildings on them. He mentioned in his will three other sons, two daughters, and two grandsons. He

evidently had no children by his second wife, but he considered carefully her welfare. He ordered that his son, Thomas, the sole executor of his estate, should take the sole care of his widow, and provide her with house room and cellar room and care for her in sickness and health so long as she remained a widow.

But Thomas Holt evidently believed in the rights of women, for this was added to his will; "But if she shall see reason to marry again, I hereby order him to pay unto his stepmother the sum of four pounds lawful money at her marriage, and to return unto her all the household stuff which she brought or caused to be brought into my house when I married her." He furthermore ordered that if she died his widow, her household stuff should be given to her two children, John Fiske and Phebe Abbot.

Abigail's death is not recorded at Andover.

Not until the nineteenth century did the law by statute give a wife possession of even the gown she wore. So his many times great granddaughters should honor this ancestor who in his attitude to women was more than two hundred years ahead of his times, and who so honored his wife that he did not want her to go penniless to the home of a new husband.

ABIGAIL³, DAUGHTER OF NICHOLAS²

Abigail³, the second daughter and fourth child of Nicholas Holt and Mary (Russell), was born at Andover November 23, 1688. She married her cousin, Paul Holt, at Andover, January 10, 1711-12. She was received in the South Parish Church, December 5, 1714; "removed by death" is placed after her name, but the date is not given. There is a record at Andover of the birth of a daughter named Abigail born in 1716. This is the last record we have of Abigail³ Holt, the daughter of Nicholas² and Mary.

JAMES³ THE SON OF NICHOLAS²

James³, the third son of Nicholas Holt and Mary (Russell) Holt, was born at Andover July 23, 1693. This is the only positive date that we have concerning him.

A James Holt united with the South Parish Church October 4, 1719. It says of manner of removal, "Probably by death."

But it seems almost a certainty that he is the James Holt who died, "In the country's service, December 18, 1722."

On the payroll of a company commanded by Captain Joseph Heath of Roxbury in his Majesty's service, place not stated, a James Holt appears as "Centinel" (private soldier) from July 19 to November 14, 1722. As there is no other James recorded than those at Andover, it is very likely that this was the son of Nicholas and that he was killed by the Indians.

SARAH³, THE DAUGHTER OF NICHOLAS²

Sarah³, the third daughter and sixth child of Nicholas and Mary (Russell) Holt, was born at Andover March 10, 1690-91.

After this she disappears; no further mention of her is made in the South Parish Church records or the Andover vital records. Durrie, however, states that she died unmarried, October 26, 1761, aged seventy.

ROBERT³, THE SON OF NICHOLAS²

It is thrilling to turn from the staid elders to the younger children of Nicholas and Mary (Russell) Holt.

The young scamps scampered away from Andover so blithely to wield the axe in a distant virgin forest. It must have been their mother's fault; for while so many Holts remain in Andover that it has become a proverb that a stranger may address any man he happens to meet as Mr. Holt with a good chance of giving him the correct name, there are few Russells left in the town. They are the wanderers.

Robert³ Holt was born at Andover, January 30, 1695-1696; consequently he was only fourteen years of age when his grandfather, Robert Russell, died. In his will Robert Russell remembers only one of his grandchildren, the fourteen years old Robert Holt, evidently named for him. His will states:

"I give to my grandson, Robert Holt, a pair of steers of four years old or two cows which he shall choose, provided he shall live with one of my sons, James or John, till he is of the age of twenty-one years, and if he shall do so, my will is that my son that he shall live with shall teach him a trade."

He evidently obeyed the letter of his grandfather's request. But at the age of twenty-two he married Rebecca Preston, and soon after moved to Windham, Connecticut.

The Holts had a great predilection for marrying within the family and Robert was no exception, although his bride was a connection, not a relative. Rebecca Preston was the daughter of John Preston and his wife Sarah; the former, the stepson of his grandfather Nicholas, the latter the widow of his Uncle, James Holt.

Rebecca, born at Andover January 23, 1688-89, was twenty-nine years of age, seven years older than Robert, when she was married to him May 22, 1718. Unless there is another Rebecca Preston hidden away in the Archives of Massachusetts, this Rebecca was the widow of her cousin Joseph Preston, who had been dead five years when his relict became the wife of Robert Holt. Rebecca Preston, the wife of Joseph, joined the South Parish

Church by a profession of faith July 18, 1714. No date of removal is given, but under that column, without date, it adds, "Probably by death." This also helps to confirm the belief that she is the Rebecca who married Robert Holt.

The northeastern part of Connecticut, known later as Windham County, was so exposed to the attacks of the Indians that it was not settled until after King Phillip's War. The story of its first settler brings to mind the connection, never very harmonious, between the colonists and the Mother Country. Lieutenant John Cates, who held his commission under Cromwell, when Charles II came to the throne, fled to this country for safety. Advertisements and pursuers were spread through the country to apprehend him. He fled to Virginia, then New York, then Norwich, then Windham, where with the aid of a negro servant, he erected the first English habitation in the spring of 1689. This incident brings vividly to mind that the grandchildren of Nicholas Holt must often have listened to thrilling stories told by refugees who had been on the muster-roll of Cromwell's Ironsides.

Three years after this first habitation was built the first town meeting was held and a church formed under the leadership of Mr. Samuel Whiting. But this community did not increase very rapidly, as in 1700 the number of males was given as fifteen.

The township of Windham at that time had large territories; but to-day it is only a small bit, just a little picture of the eighteenth century. The village green, backed by New England homes on three sides, a road running by it to the old graveyard, the old church, and the old inn with the sign of the unicorn swinging above its door—this is Windham. No Holts are buried in the graveyard, but three Holts joined the church presided over by Mr. Samuel Whiting. These were Abiel and his wife Hannah, and Rebecca, the wife of Robert, all three recorded as of Hampton. But it was not easy to go to

church in Windham from Hampton. The distance was six miles. They travelled on ox-sleds, left often before daybreak, remained to two services and returned home late in the evening.

Hampton Hill, then a part of the town of Windham, was not laid out for purposes of settlement until 1712. It was known as Canada Parish, probably named for David Canada who built the first house there. This group of Andover people must have gone there about 1720, or at least before the church was built at Hampton in 1723.

There were Holts and Prestons and Farnums and Abbots among these early settlers. They probably moved in groups along the road from Andover to Windham with their ox-teams, their cows and sheep and hogs, possibly driving a flock of geese, for even a hundred years later it was not an unusual sight to see geese, five hundred in a flock, being driven along the road to their destination.

Hampton Hill is nine hundred feet above the sea level and about nine tenths of a mile long. It overlooks a beautiful country. On the brow of the hill runs the main road, now called Church Street, and the beautiful old church stands at the same place where it was erected in 1623. Hampton must have been a flourishing place at its beginning, for upon the formation of the Congregational Church in 1723 sixty members were dismissed from the church at Windham to form the new church.

Among those who united with the church in 1723-24 were Abiel Holt, Jacob and John Preston and Robert Holt, "with many of the wives and daughters of the settlers." Among those simply "owning the covenant" were the young men, Joshua Holt and Benjamin Preston. The church built at this early date has suffered little change. These men had a fine sense of line. Architects visit Hampton today to see this church, which is called the church of perfect proportions.

Rebecca did not live long after their removal to Connecticut. She died at Hampton May 1, 1727.

Robert did not remain a widower long. Possibly a visit to Andover may have hastened matters. He married December 13, 1727, Bethiah Peabody of Boxford, the daughter of Joseph and Bethiah (Bridges) Peabody. Bethiah was born at Boxford, April 3, 1681, and so was nearly four years older than her sister Alice, the wife of Robert's older brother, Thomas.

Life evidently flowed along very smoothly with Robert and Bethiah. No children are recorded but there were in their household the four little ones left by his first wife Rebecca.

The community was growing and there were many questions that evidently agitated these distant subjects of the English king, who were then as imbued with the ideas of self-government as their children and grandchildren who directed their well aimed flintlocks upon the soldiers of King George. At the church meetings now and then one of their number was summoned before them for inebriety. But one case became historic. A man named Jeremiah Upley carried freedom of speech too far when he said that he would rather hear his dog bark than Mr. Billings preach. It took seven years to settle the case. Seven years after the remark was made, after Mr. Billings was dead, Jeremiah rose in meeting, confessed himself repentant and owned that he had been careless and unregardful of his speech.

The ownership of pews occasioned a great controversy, so important that it was taken to the general assembly. The wording in which the final settlement is made expresses much as to the temper of the people. September 7, 1772 it was voted to set aside all the seating of the meeting house heretofore and "everyone to sit where he thinks he ought to sit." But by this time most of the early settlers had passed from the scene. Bethiah,

the wife of Robert, died at Hampton, then called Windham, February 6, 1742-43.

Robert was still under fifty years of age. The month after the death of Bethiah, March 28, 1743, Robert Holt of Windham and Hannah Andross of Ashford were married by the Reverend Samuel Mosley. Judging from his will, it was a happy union. When Robert Holt was well past sixty years of age it was voted at the annual meeting that he should have one pound three shillings for taking care of the meeting house. He also had charge of the christening basin and brought it in as occasion should require. This position was voted him each year until his death.

Robert Holt evidently felt death approaching and made his will. This will is preserved in the State Library at Hartford, Connecticut. The following are excerpts from it:

"On the 27th day of February, 1767, I, Robert Holt, of Windham for the County of Windham and Colony of Connecticut, being of advanced age but of perfect mind and memory _____

I give and bequeath to my beloved wife Hannah Holt my dwelling house in which I now dwell with an acre of land belonging thereto, and on which said house now stands _____ with all my household furniture also with all my livestock to be hers and her heirs forever _____ —together also with the use and interest of all my money, security and credits _____ for one year after my decease _____ also 55 pounds lawful money to be paid one year after decease."

The children he mentioned in his will were the children of his first wife Rebecca Preston and seem to be married with homes and families of their own.

The estate was entered for probate May 4, 1768. A very complete inventory is given. There was a very well supplied house and barn. Robert was also well

supplied with clothes. He had two great coats, one was a blue great coat valued at "eighteen shillings"; one best blue broadcloth coat, valued at twenty-four shillings; one black large waistcoat, valued at ten shillings; one pair cloth breeches valued at four shillings six pence; one white linen shirt, valued at three shillings six pence; then he had old coats and old waistcoats, one of them was red, old breeches, old shoes, a pair of brass buckles, an old beaver hat, worsted caps and linen caps, shirts, and stockings.

But his books probably represent the ordinary reading at that time. He had a Bible, Mr. Brainerd's book, Watts Hymn Book, Sermon Books, by Mr. Stodderd, by Mr. Willerd, and one by Mr. Fox. There were three old Psalm books and fifteen old testaments.

The estate was valued at 285 lbs. 7s.

Of this his widow Hannah received 177 lbs. 6s 7d.

She signed a receipt for the movable estate left her for 48 lbs. 2s 1d.

This is the last that we hear of Hannah Holt, the widow of Robert.

The village street of Hampton, now named Church Street, runs to-day between pleasant homes of wood, painted white with green blinds, set in green lawns. The beautiful church, white with green blinds, looks benignly across at the office of the town clerk. This church has had the door changed and pillars added, but the proportions are those of the first church. The horse sheds are still in the rear. Four important church books are kept in the State Library at Hartford. But an old flagon, of a material resembling pewter, and an old cup of the early communion service are preserved in the church.

Then there are three old cemeteries in Hampton. You dip down a valley to the north for one; then a valley to the south for the second; then a valley to the east and

up a hill for the third. The old gravestones have been so worn by the weather that the names and inscriptions have been obliterated. But the names of the next generation carried on the tombstones are discernable. And here lie peacefully side by side the Holts, the Prestons, the Farnums and the Abbots; a group of families that left to their descendants, wherever they went, a well-ordered community, truthful records, good schools and beautiful churches.

ABIEL³ SON OF NICHOLAS²

Abiel³ Holt, the eighth child of Nicholas and Mary (Russell) Holt, was born at Andover June 28, 1698. His boyhood was doubtless past with his brothers and sisters in the home at Holt's Hill. While still a young man, he went to Windham, Connecticut, but returned home on a visit of such a nature that the town took cognizance of it and recorded the fact that Abiel³ Holt of Windham had married Hannah Abbot, February 12, 1721-22.

There were three Hannah Abbots of about the same age living at Andover and genealogists have confused them; but the Hannah Abbot whom Abiel chose for his wife was born at Andover, April 5, 1701, the daughter of William and Elizabeth (Geery) Abbot.

This William Abbot, the father of Hannah, was born in Andover, November 18, 1657, the son of George Abbot Sr. and Hannah (Chandler) Abbot. He went to Roxbury for his wife and married July 10, 1682 Elizabeth, the daughter of Nathaniel Geery, a sister to the Sarah who later married John Holt.

Nathaniel Geery, second son of Arthur, came with his parents to America and settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts. He married Ann Douglas, born in 1637, daughter of Deacon William and Ann (Mattle) Douglas of New London, Connecticut and granddaughter of

Thomas Mattle of Ringstead, England. Nathaniel Geery was a successful planter and a respected citizen of Roxbury. He died of smallpox January 28, 1678, leaving a widow and a large family of children. His daughter Elizabeth, the wife of William Abbot was born in Roxbury, July 10, 1661, and died in Andover November 26, 1712. William died October 21, 1713.

In his will probated November 16, 1713 William Abbot left his daughter Hannah twenty pounds which should be paid when she became of age or was married. At the end he requests "my loving brother Timothy Abbot, to see this my will performed." As there was a large estate to be settled, due partly to William's share in the common lands of Andover, nearly thirteen years after the death of William this receipt is given, October 20, 1726:

"Received by us Abiel Holt and Hannah Holt of my uncle's, George Abbot and Timothy Abbot, administrators to my father's, William Holt, last will and testament all our right and share in our father's real and personal and movable estate with all our share in the buildings, with all our lands that did accrue to us by the laying out our father's . . . in the common land of Andover."

It may be added here that Hannah, the daughter of Timothy, whom genealogists have wed to Abiel Holt, was unmarried when her father's will was probated in 1730. She signed a quitclaim as Hannah Abbot.

But Abiel³ Holt was already of Windham when he married Hannah Abbot February 12, 1721-22. He took his young bride of twenty to his new home at Hampton. Hannah as well as Abiel must have been of a religious nature, for they joined the church at Windham presided over by the Reverend Samuel Whiting. And so in imagination we see them rising at six o'clock on Sunday morning, journeying by ox-team to the village center of Wind-

ham, listening to two sermons, and arriving home late in the evening.

When the church was organized at Hampton, sixty members of the Windham Church received letters from Mr. Whiting and became members of the new church at Hampton. The church records of Hampton preserve the dates when persons were received in full communion. Abiel and his wife Hannah were received June 30, 1723. But the history of Windham and Hampton, so far as the Holts were part of it, has been told in the story of Abiel's older brother, Robert.

But possibly Hampton was getting too crowded. At any rate, Abiel, imbued with the true pioneer spirit, pushed onward. A stretch to the westward, one thousand feet in height, bounded on the west by the Willimantic River, was at that time settled by three colonies; one from England, one from Massachusetts, and a third from Connecticut under the leadership of Mr. Holt. This was the new town of Willington.

A humorist has left a description of this section when it was first opened to settlers. The black bear and the wolf were masters of the forest. The deer held his own by his cowardice. The squirrel ate all the nuts. A million crows held a "cawcus" and decided to drive the settlers away by eating all the corn they should plant. Partridge and screech-owls filled the trees, and enormous frogs filled the streams. It may be added that the Holts and their friends conquered all their enemies but the crow; the crow and the cawcus we still have with us.

Like most New England towns, the history of Willington is closely woven with the history of the Congregational Church. The town was organized in 1727 and the following year the Reverend Daniel Fuller, the son of Doctor Samuel Fuller of the Mayflower, was ordained. Mr. Fuller was a man of sound intellect and an able preacher. He was pastor for over thirty years.

It was during his pastorate that Hannah, the wife of Abiel, died at Willington February 11, 1752, the day before her thirtieth wedding anniversary, at the age of fifty-one years.

A little over ten months after the death of Hannah, December 19, 1752, Abiel married his second wife, Sarah Downer. There seems to be no record of her birth or parentage and no children are recorded as born of Abiel and Sarah.

Probably the two most important town events that occurred in the first decade after this second marriage were the death of their greatly beloved pastor, the Reverend Daniel Fuller, and the ordination of the new minister, the Reverend Gideon Noble, a man of a lively disposition but a good preacher.

Mr. Fuller left no church books. As he died of smallpox, they may have been destroyed. But Mr. Noble kept the records of the church after a fashion. The little pasteboard covered book with a picture of Venus, Cupid and Ascanius upon the cover, with the record of the church within, is still preserved in the office of the town clerk at Willington, and the name of Holt appears repeatedly upon its pages. He gives a list of the members of the church at the time he was ordained November 28, 1759, among them Abiel and Sarah Holt.

Abiel³ Holt died at Willington November 10, 1772. At the time of his death rumblings of war were heard, but none of the grandsons of Nicholas or William lived to take part in the Revolution. Sarah, the second wife of Abiel, lived to see the establishment of the new republic. She died at Willington April 15, 1784.

A long street ascends from the town of Willington to the old graveyard nearly at the top of a high hill. In this necropolis, are buried Abiel Holt and his two wives Hannah and Sarah. Many other Holts are buried in this old graveyard. Over many of their graves are the em-

blems of the Society of Colonial Wars and the Sons of the American Revolution.

DEBORAH³ THE DAUGHTER OF NICHOLAS²

Deborah³, the youngest daughter of Nicholas² Holt and Mary (Russell) Holt, was born at Andover November 16, 1700.

What a chance she had of being spoiled! Her father was fifty-three years old at the time of her birth; her mother was in her fortieth year; her grandfather and grandmother Russell were still living as well as her step-grandmother, the third wife of her grandfather Nicholas. Her oldest sister Mary, not yet married, was twenty years older than she, and her older brothers Nicholas, Thomas and James were lads at home. Her two younger brothers Robert and Abiel were near enough her own age to be a nuisance to their little sister or companions.

After recording her birth, however, Andover pays no more attention to Deborah³. She evidently did not join the church there and no mention is made of her marriage. But according to Durrie, she married Benjamin Preston at Hampton May 25, 1727.

Andover is equally silent in regard to Benjamin. It states that he was born on the twenty-sixth, month not stated, 1705; and it gives his parentage and the parentage of his parents but no more.

Benjamin Preston was the son of Jacob Preston and the grandson of Samuel and Susanna (Gutterson) Preston.

Jacob Preston was born at Andover, February 24, 1681. He had barely passed his twenty-first birthday when he married Sarah Wilson, the daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Lord) Wilson. Joseph and Sarah Lord were married April 24, 1678. Joseph Wilson died April 2,

1718 about seventy-five. Sarah Wilson,* the widow of Joseph, died May 21, 1727 in her seventy-ninth year. Their daughter Sarah was born December 31, 1678.

Benjamin³ and Deborah (Holt) Preston lived some years at Hampton. As late as 1744, a daughter of Benjamin and Deborah was baptized there. Later they removed to Willington. Benjamin Preston and his wife Deborah died at Willington on the same day, November 26, 1784. (Town Clerk, Willington, Conn.).

JOSHUA³ SON OF NICHOLAS²

Joshua³ Holt, born at Andover 1703, exact date not recorded, went with his brothers Robert and Abiel to Hampton. December 13, 1724, he owned the covenant of the new church presided over by the Reverend William Billings.

The daughters of strangers evidently were not pleasing in his sight, for he returned to Andover, declared his intentions, and February 23, 1724-25, married his cousin, Keturah Holt, the daughter of Henry Holt, who was thirteen years his senior. Possibly Joshua and Keturah were not as devout in their religion as Abiel and Robert; not until March 4, 1732, were Joshua and Keturah received in full communion.

Hampton was a prosperous community, peaceful and religious. During the ten years that Mr. Billings was

* Sarah Wilson, who later became the wife of Jacob Preston, must have passed through a tribulation when she was a girl of fourteen. On a long list of the names of citizens of Andover who petitioned the General Court to permit those imprisoned for witchcraft to return to their homes is the name of Joseph Wilson, who signed the petition in behalf of his wife and young children.

Jacob Preston and Sarah Wilson were married June 2, 1702. They lived at Andover for some years and there their children were born. But later Jacob purchased land of Robert Holt and moved to Hampton. In 1723 he united in full membership with the new church at Hampton, while his son Benjamin, who had not yet attained his majority, simply signed the covenant.

pastor of the church, one hundred and seventy-two persons were admitted to the church. His pastorate terminated with his death. He was followed by the Reverend Samuel Moseley, who was pastor of the church for fifty-seven years, until his death in 1791. He performed during these years two hundred and fifty-two marriages. So the community more than held its own. Joshua and his brother Robert spent their days at Hampton, although Abiel went to Willington and Daniel moved a little farther north to Pomfret.

After they had been received in full communion, there is no further mention of Joshua and Keturah in the church books excepting the baptism of their children during infancy. Joshua was more interested in things military.

In 1749 he was commissioned a lieutenant of the 3rd company or trainband of the town of Windham. Later, 1751, he was made a captain of the 6th Company, the 5th Connecticut Regiment. In the treasurer's account of the men who went to the relief of Fort William Henry is the name of Joshua Holt; he had one horse, travelled one hundred miles and was gone eleven days.

The Connecticut men who were sent to the relief of Fort William Henry cost the state 220 lbs. 12s, 2d, but Colonel Monroe, the commander, had been obliged to surrender before reinforcements could arrive. It was this surrender, as all will remember, that formed the historical basis of Cooper's novel of "The Last of the Mohicans."

There is no record of the death of Joshua³ Holt. His son was a prominent man in Hampton; he is mentioned as late as September 4, 1774, and still called Joshua Jr., so his father was probably living at that time.

Keturah died at Hampton, October 2, 1781, at the age of ninety, the last and the oldest of the grandchildren of Nicholas Holt.

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Windham April 24th 1777
Capt James Utley
I have another Capt. Clapen In your Room. Consider
your Aged years & w^{ch} Reason you Give I Think
It Reasonable
These therefore to Order you to wear a all of soldiers
under your command & all others allowed by Law to be
in (choice of military) officers to Meet with you & place
by your appointment; & then to Lead them to y^e place
of a Capt. of such other officers as shall be necessary,
And make return of your Doings to y^e Generall
Assembly at Hartford in May next
To Capt James Utley of
Windham Capt of y^e sixth
Training Band in y^e fifth
Regiment in y^e Colony of
Connecticut

To the Honorable the Governor and
 General Assembly Sitting at Hartford May
 4th 1749 Pursuant to an Order from S^{rs} Plantings
 10th Col^l of 4th Reg^t in Connecticut
 I warned the Soldiers of 4th 3rd Company
 in Windham under my Command, and all other
 allowed by Law to Vote, to appear on 4th first
 day of this instant May at 4th usual
 Place — And then there I did them
 to 4th Choice of a Captain, Lieutenant, & Ensign
 Inseparably; and they chose Ensign Stephen
 Fuller for their Captain, Sergeant Joshua
 Holt for their Lieut. and Sergeant Josiah
 Hammond for their Ensign each of them
 Separately and by a Majority of Votes —

James Utley Capt.

To the Honorable the general Assembly of the Colony of Con-
necticut: To be Shown In Hartford 4th 2^d Thursday of
May 1751. On the 6th Day of May Instant, Joshua Holt
the within Officers I have Led the Soldiers and
other Legal Voters under my Command to the
choise of a Captain and they made choise of
Mr Joshua Holt of Windham, so in their
Capt by a majority, and the said Holt being
The Lieut of the Company, I proceeded and
Led said Company to the choise of a Lieut
and they made choise of Mr Jacob
Payson of Windham, so in their Lieut
by a majority. Dated In Windham this
6th Day of May 1751.

Certified Attest Stephen Fuller Capt of the
6th Company Regt 5th Regiment
Jacob Woodman Clerk

Joshua Holt is Established Capt of the
6th Company Regt 5th Regiment
Jacob Payson Lieut of the 6th Company
in the 5th Regiment and ordered that he
be accordingly. Test Jno Foster Ck.

Enacted in the town of Windham this 6th day of May 1751.

March the 1st Day 1750/51

To the honorable generall assembly convened at Hartford
in may next these may inform you that pursuant
to an order from the honorable Joseph Munn colonel ordering
me to lead the second company or train band in Kent to the choise
of an insine of pursuant to order have notified all the
soldiers under my command & all other persons in presint
lawfully qualifide for voting of time & place and they have
by a clear majority of vote made choise of sargant Daniel Lee
insine these are to pray honours to ~~the~~ Daniel Lee
insine of second company or train band in Kent
these are true returns of our votes. Witness my hand
Israel Holmes Clerk

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An account of the Horses Improved in the
first Company of militia in the first Regiment
in the Colony of Connecticut in their march
towards Fort William Henry in the alarm in
August Last with the Names of those men to
whom they did belong with the Distance off way
the horses traveled It is as follows (viz)

Lieut Eli Hutton ^{had} two horses ^{in his service} if travel of one 140 miles
the travel of the other horse was 116 miles
Lieut Jonathan Kingbury Esq Zachariah Bicknell
Benjamin Hollet Joseph Skiff Salveun Backus
Zebulon Rude Elizer Kelougen Daniel Reading
Elizer Cary Thomas Brown Thomas Chaffe
Thomas Lawson Jonathan Lane William Ripley
Daniel Ross Vermin Balch Eliza Garrison
Jonathan Doney Jacob Waters Abraham ^{son} Spaff
Shubal Dammick Jr & John Dunham
Daniel Waterman Thomas Butler Stephen
Dorlier — the above mentioned men had
one horse each ^{in service} travel one hundred and sixteen
miles each.

Capt William Turkey John Backer Noah
Gilbert John Warming Jr & Jonathan Main
Elijah Bingham had each of them two
Horses in service their travel 116 miles.

Elipha Elizaog Uriah Hanks ~~one horse each~~
William Morecock and Joshua Kell had each
of them one horse in service travel 100 miles
John V. Saldo James Clarke had one horse
Each travel 80 miles each

WAR. 1675-1774

SERIES VOL VII DOC 50 PAGES C
(Photostat copy)

50c Brought forward 167:2:9-1
Thomas Atwood James Bundy
M^r Baldwin, John Turner
Joshua Dimick 23 - John Dunham
Gad Nathan Timmoak Nathaniel Kidson
Joseph Hovey Daniel Waterman
Joshua Palmer Ebenezer Clark
Thomas Brown, Labor Fitch
John Worner & William Ripley
Ariah H^o Amos Clark
Elisha Edrith Benjamin Hayward
Amos Lawton John, Walter
James Haffton Andrew Burnham
Daniel Ross 25 mon 14 days each
12 months and 14 days at 32/pr mo. 20:0-0-0
to their subsistence 35-0 days at 14:20-8-4-0

to Joseph Skiff 16 days 11 of which
he was a forjant and subsisted him
self of whole time 1-19-4-0

mapes & Walter 15 days
Joshua Walth 11 days
Josiah Hebbon 8 days
Daniel Baldwin 9 days
Joseph Jacobs 11 days
Elisha Barrows 11 days
Jonathan Dancy 9 days
Oliver Smith 11 do
Jacob Waters 11 do
in of whole 3 months and 12 days
at 32/pr month 5-9-9-0
to their subsistence 96 days 5-12-0-0
Carried forward 220:12:02-1

Capt Jonathan Rudi
Muster Roll
Exam. pr JB
fin. & ul.

DANIEL³, SON OF NICHOLAS² HOLT

The oldest grandchild of Nicholas Holt was born while Cromwell was still Lord Protector of England; but Charles the Second, James the Second, William and Mary and their wars were all of the past when Daniel, the youngest grandchild was born, in 1705, in the reign of Queen Anne and her wars. He was only five years of age when his grandfather Robert Russell died, and by the age of twelve he was a double orphan. When he was seventeen years of age he chose his brother Nicholas his guardian, who was placed under 200 pounds bond; so that year Daniel was in Andover.

But the spirit of roaming was strong within him, and he was soon off to join his brothers at Hampton. He was in Hampton by April 17, 1728, when he owned the covenant of the Congregational Church, presided over by the Rev. William Billings.

May 31, 1730, he married Abigail Smith.*

The following data of Abigail Smith, the wife of Daniel Holt, were furnished to the Association by Mrs. Frederick Morgan Smith, née Annie Holt, of New London, a member of the Association and a descendant both of William Holt of New Haven and of Nicholas of Andover through his grandson Daniel Holt of Pomfret.

Daniel³ lived for about ten years at Hampton, where his children were baptized. In 1741 he moved to Pomfret,

* Daniel Smith was a resident of Watertown, Massachusetts in 1642. He married Elizabeth, the daughter of Roger and Grace (Coolidge) Porter. His will, dated July 14, 1660 mentions his wife Elizabeth and among his children a son Daniel. This son Daniel, born September 27, 1642, married February 22, 1667-8, Mary Grant. He died June 7, 1681. His will dated May 30, 1681, mentions his wife and three sons, one named John. This son, John Smith, married Abigail, and lived at Lebanon, County of New London, Connecticut. Their daughter, Abigail, the wife of Daniel Holt, was born at Lebanon, June 22, 1706. (Bond: Genealogy and History of Watertown. A. Hurd: History of New London County [under Lebanon].)

a town which joins Hampton on the North, and at that time included the three towns, Pomfret, Putnam and Abington.

Like his brother Joshua, Daniel was interested in the militia. In 1751, he was elected lieutenant of the 10th company, or trainband, of the 11th Regiment; later, 1756, Lieutenant Daniel Holt was elected captain. Later at his own request a successor was chosen.

February 9, 1752, Abigail, the wife of Lieutenant Daniel, died at Pomfret. The day after Christmas, December 26, 1752, Lieutenant Daniel Holt married Kezia Russ.

Captain Daniel³ Holt died at Pomfret, November 5, 1773. In his will he calls himself yeoman.

The will of Captain Daniel Holt was probated December 7-8, 1773. "Daniel Holt of Pomfret, County of Windham, yeoman", so it reads. He left to his beloved wife Kezia the great north room of his dwelling, part of the cellar, a horse and a cow, and all things necessary for her comfort. She was also to have four pounds yearly in money or in clothing as she should wish.

He left the greater part of his estate to his son, Daniel, whom he made his executor.

Mrs. Frederick Morgan Smith added this to her data of the Smith family:

"When I visited the grave of Abigail Smith at Abington, in the Grow Burial Ground, an angle of land let into the town Hampton, I found the nearest burials those of the Peabody family. Captain Daniel Holt, her husband, was in the burial ground at Abington, I should say two miles away, by his second wife. His children were by his first wife, Abigail."

CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY
CONNECTICUT ARCHIVES MANUSCRIPT INDEX

MILITIA, 1678-1757

SERIES 1st VOL. IV DOC 468 PAGES

(Photostat copy)

248
To the Honour^{ed} General Assembly To be holden at
Newhaven on ^{the} second Thursday of October Instant
These may Certifie Pursuant To an order from Colonel
John Dyer Colonel of the Eleventh Regiment in the Colony
of Connecticut To me Drunking I give Legal Warning
all & Training Soldiers under my Command and all others
within my Command to appear at Time and Place
And when met Together I being unable To attend the business
of said Day I ordered Lieut^{ant} John Pygall To Lead Them To a
Choice of Military Officers
And he Then Led them To a Choice of a Captain and they
made Choice of Serg^{ts} Zebariah Goodell To be their Captain
by a Majority of votes
And then he Led them to a Choice of a Lieut^{ant} and they made
Choice of Serg^{ts} Daniel Holt To be their Lieut^{ant} by a Majority
of votes
And then he Led them To a Choice of an Ensign and they
made Choice of Serg^{ts} Amasa Sessions To be their Ensign
by a Majority of votes

Thus Certifies Your Honour's

Most Obedient and humble

Serv^{ant} Joseph Crafts Capt^{ain}
Done at October 27th 1757

Choice of Daniel Holt as Lieutenant.

SERIES 104 VOL. 7 DOC. 47 PAGES 12
(Photostat copy)

Dated in Dorchester the 6th Day
of May AD 1756

Ind. Lower House

In 4. Lower House
 Mr. Dan^d. Hatt is Elected Cap^t. Mr. Chasⁿ. Holbrook Lieut^t &
 Mr. Joshua Grosvenor Ensign of 4. 10th M. Company in 4. 11th
 Recruit in this Company & Ordⁿ they are consumed Accordingly

Left 2 Chambers Creek

Presented on the upper House
 by Sir George Wyllie Bart.

Officers 10 Comp. 11 Regiment
May 1786
J. W. Loeven
Mr. Dene.
Mr. Joshua
Receipt in
p. e. #
p. u. H. 13, p.
+
(P. 13)

CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY
CONNECTICUT ARCHIVES MANUSCRIPT INDEX
MILITIA, 1678-1757

SERIES 2nd VOL. DOC. 125 PAGES 30
(Photostat copy)

To m^r Daniel Holt of Pomfret Captⁿ of the 10th Company in ^{125a}
the Eleventh military Regiment in the Colony of Connecticut Greeting
I have considered of the motion that you have moved to me to
be Dismissed from your military Post of a Captⁿ and I am of
the opinion that ^{the reasons} you have given me may be sufficient since you
are so far advanced in years
And you are hereby Commanded to Give verbal warning to all persons
by Law allowed to vote for military officers living within the Limits
of your military Company to meet & gather at some convenient time
and Place to Choose a Captⁿ and then you are to Lead them to the
Chose of a Captⁿ and any other officer that you shall think need full
and make Return of your Doings to the General Assembly to
be holden at Newtown on October next and when there is another
Captⁿ Commissioned in your stead you shall be Dismissed from your said Post
Given under my hand in Canterbury this 18th Day of
September 1758 In the Lower House John Dyar Cl^k
To be Assigned to the 10th Military Company
in the 11th Reg^t ———— Sent from the Upper House
to be Assigned to the 10th Military Company
in the 11th Reg^t ———— Sent from the Upper House
John Dyar Cl^k

Honorable discharge of Daniel Holt from his Captaincy at his own request, and directions for holding an election to choose his successor.

Military Company in the
Town of Springfield
Oct 11 1758

125b

These may Certifie The Honour^{ble} General assembly
To be holden at New-Haven on y^e 2nd Thursday of October Instant
That pursuant To the within Order I gave Legal warning To all
Persons within the Limits of my Military Company Alotted by Law
To Vote for Military Officers and being met Together on Monday
the 2nd Day of October Instant I then Led them To y^e Choice
of a Captain and they made Choice of Lieut. Ebenezer Holbrook
To be their Capt. I then Led them To y^e Choice of a Lieut.
and they made Choice of Ensign Joshua Grosvenor To be their Lieut.
I also Led them To y^e Choice of an Ensign and they made Choice
of M^r Samuel Sumner To be their Ensign and all of
them by y^e Majority of the Voters then Present

as Certified y^e me

Done at Oct 9 2nd 1758 Daniel Holt Capt.

Election of a successor to Daniel Holt, certified to by Daniel Holt, Captain.

CHAPTER IX.

JAMES², SON OF NICHOLAS¹, AND HIS CHILDREN

JAMES², the fourth son of Nicholas and Elizabeth (Short) Holt, was born at Andover in 1651. His name is on the list of males over sixteen years of age who took the oath of allegiance to King Charles II, February 11, 1678, with his father and brothers, Samuel², Nicholas², and Henry², and also a Daniel Holt, who was probably his step-brother, Daniel Rolfe, the son of the third wife of Nicholas.

James² was a soldier in Captain Nicholas Paige's troop in King Phillips' War. Captain Paige's troop was appointed June 27th, 1675, to accompany Major Thomas Savage in the expedition to Mount Hope, and took part in the movements there. Captain Paige accompanied the army to Narragansett and back, then returned to Boston with Major Savage, and disbanded. There is no account of any further service in this war. In the credits for men in this campaign is James Hoult, 2 lbs. 00s, 00d, September 3, 1675.

James² married October 12, 1675, Hannah Allen, daughter of Andrew Allen and Faith Ingalls. She was consequently a sister to Sarah, the wife of Samuel Holt, and also to Martha Carrier, who was hanged for witchcraft. But their story has been told before. Hannah was born October 28, 1652, and died September 30, 1698.

James² and Hannah both united with the North Parish Church in 1686.

The following, recorded among the Salem deeds, is a transfer of land made to James² by his father Nicholas¹.

"Nicholas and Martha to James, Jan. 16, 1682.

"To James one-third of my farm the land where his house now stands, the upland and arable ground running on north side by a pine swamp. Also one-third meadow called great meadow bounded on the west by a ditch N upland and NE by a black oak standing by a spring that comes out of Boston Hill. Also 3 acres of my commenage which I had of the town with my house lot, also 3 acres of commage for timbre and firewood.

"James is required to pay 10 shillings a year in lieu of all rates both to town and church so long as the inhabitants of Andover shall continue this way of rating by land.

"James is to pay his father 3 pounds yearly for maintenance as long as he lives and 40 shillings to Martha, that is now his mother-in-law."

The story of the smallpox which broke out in Andover 1690, and may have been partly responsible for the madness of the witchcraft trials two years later, has been told under the story of Samuel. An early history of Andover relates that nine persons out of its small population died in that year of smallpox. One of these was James² Holt. He died December 13, 1690, aged thirty-nine. His infant son died of the same disease. His brother Samuel² was made chief executor of his estate.

At a Court held at Ipswich, March 31, 1691, Letters of Administration were granted unto:

"Sam^{ll} Hoult, of all the singular ye goods & chattels, rights & credits of his brother James J. Hoult deceased; and ye said Sam^{ll} as principle, & Sam^{ll} Ingalls as surety stand joyfully & favorably bound to ye treasurer of Essex & parties concerned in ye sum of four hundred pound; ye condition is yt ye sd Sam^{ll} shall act according to Law in his administration & attend ye Courts order for a settlement as attest—Thomas Wade—Clerk.

An inventory of ye estate of James Hoult who deceased ye 14th day of December, in ye year 1690 who deceased without will.

6 head cattle & a horse	40 lbs.	2 old chests, 1 box	2 lbs.
swine and sheep	5 lbs.	and other lumber	

two beds and bedding	10 lbs.	a saddle & bridle,	
for tools & old iron	50 sh.	gun and girdle	50 sh.
1 pot, 1 skillet, 1 kettle		Flax & wool	40 sh.
2 pewter plates & other		For Housing	30 lbs.
house hold implements	3 lbs.	In land & meadow	120 lbs.
Wearing clothes	4 lbs.		

Summe total two hundred & thirty pounds, 10 shillings Mar. 23, 1691.

Henry Hoult
Joseph Ballard

The debts so near as ye widdow can find are eighteen pounds—This inventory being presented by Sam^l Hoult administrator to ye Court, held at Ipswich March 31, 1691 upon oath for a true inventory of ye estate of James Hoult deceased of all yt at present has come to his knowledge as also if more appears to ad ye same and to give account to ye Court at some convenient time."

CHILDREN OF JAMES²

Hannah³, the oldest child of James² and Hannah (Allen) Holt, was born at Andover, August 10 or 12, 1677. She married January 4, 1697-98, Samuel Farnum, probably her cousin, the son of Ralph and Elizabeth (Holt) Farnum.

They probably lived, as did most of the Farnums, at North Andover. Hannah³, the wife of Samuel, died April 11, 1747. Samuel Farnum died December 20, 1754.

Samuel Farnum Jr., and so probably their son, "died in the King's service at Louisburg", August 27, 1745.

Priscilla³ Holt, the second daughter of James² and Hannah (Allen) Holt, was born at Andover, August 13, 1679. She married her cousin, Ephraim Farnum, the son of Ralph and Elizabeth (Holt) Farnum. As has been related, Ephraim died at Andover, June 9, 1744. Priscilla³ is said to have moved to Concord, N. H. to live with her children, but the records of Concord, as well as of Andover, say nothing about her. But Andover, her lifelong home, records, "Precilla Farnham, widow, and Stephen Johnson of Hampstead, married August 28, 1750."

Could that be our Priscilla? Young in widowhood but old in years and possibly young at heart. But this will be for the Farnum genealogist to trace. Like the Johnsons, they are a vanishing family.

Lydia³, the third daughter of James² and Hannah (Allen) Holt, was born at Andover, September 27, 1681. She married, January 27, 1701-2, Samuel Peabody of Boxford. He was born April 8, 1678, the son of Joseph and Bethiah (Bridges) Peabody. Consequently he was a brother to the three girls, Alice, Bethia, and Sarah, who married the three grandsons of Nicholas, Thomas Holt, Robert Holt, and James Johnson respectively.

Joseph Peabody, the father of Samuel, lived at Boxford. There is a part of North Andover near the Boxford line that by tradition is a Peabody section. Possibly Samuel and Lydia lived there, as they did not unite with the South Parish Church.

A Samuel Peabody died at Andover, May 1, 1706. He was probably the husband of Lydia, as no children are born to them after that date. Many years later, a record reads: "Lydia, the widow of Samuel died October 10, 1741, in her sixty-first year."

After these three daughters, a son was born to James² and Hannah (Allen) Holt, whom they named Timothy³. Timothy³ was born at Andover January 25, 1683, and so was only seven years of age at the time of his father's death. At the age of twenty-two, April 19, 1705, he married Rhoda, daughter of William and Bridget (Henchman) Chandler.

William Chandler, the father of Rhoda, was the son of William and Annis Chandler of Roxbury. He married for his second wife, October 8, 1679, Bridget Henchman, the widow of James Richardson and the daughter of Major Thomas Henchman of Chelmsford. William kept an inn on the road leading from Ipswich to Billerica. He was one of the leading men of Andover. Rhoda Chandler was born September 26, 1684.

Timothy³ Holt was a prosperous farmer, but he did not take any important part in town affairs. He was not an office-seeker. He was on the committee to build the new church in the South Parish when the original church became too small, and was an assessor for a year.

Timothy³ died at Andover, March 4, 1758, aged seventy-five.

In the will of Timothy Holt, probated March 27, 1758, he gave to Rhoda, his dearly beloved wife, the east end of his dwelling, from the bottom of the cellar to the top of the chimney, with a bed-room in the east end of the back-center, his garden, the liberty of his well for water, the use of a horse to go to church or elsewhere, cows and sheep, beds and bedding, and all his money, bonds and notes, as long as she should remain his widow. He left to his eldest son, James⁴, the land and dwellings where James⁴ was then living. This was along the Salem Road, and among its boundaries were the lands of Thomas and Nicholas Holt.

He left to his son Timothy⁴ the homestead, which had for its boundaries the land of his brother James and the land of Thomas Holt.

Pewter and earthen vessels, knives and forks, seventeen books, and armor were among the articles enumerated.

The value of the estate was 902 lbs. 1s 2d.

Rhoda (Chandler) Holt survived her husband by seven years. She died at Andover, August 14, 1765.

Joseph³ Holt, the son of James² and Hannah (Allen) Holt, was born at Andover, March 5, 1686. April 7, 1726, he married Abigail Rich of Reading, Middlesex County, Massachusetts. Reading as well as Andover has recorded that Abigail Rich and Joseph³ Holt of Andover were married April 7, 1726.

Abigail Rich, the daughter of John and Martha Rich, was born at Reading, July 14, 1708. One of this name was immortalized by Longfellow, under the name of

Martha Corey, whose real name was Martha Rich, who was married to Henry Rich in 1684. This family was of Salem and probably the Reading family was of that branch.

Probably Joseph³ and Abigail continued to live at Reading, as children were born to them there, one as late as 1743. Abigail's death is not recorded in the Reading Vital Records.

Durrie states that Joseph³ Holt married Zerviah Winch, March 6, 1758. Of this marriage and of Zerviah, the records are silent.

In the "History of Framingham" by J. H. Temple, there is a good deal about the Winch family. Samuel Winch built a house in Framingham as early as 1683; he had lived before in Sudbury. But though the family was prominent, Zerviah is not mentioned; neither is Joseph³ Holt.

Joseph³ Holt now disappears from view. Durrie states that he continued to live at Reading. But neither Reading nor the adjoining towns mention him. The search is complicated by the fact that Joseph is a name found among the Holts of the fourth generation.

Possibly the genealogist of the fourth generation may be able to find this Joseph. But see the photostat copy of the will of a Joseph Holt, executed at Reading September 20, 1773, which, if it is this Joseph Holt, mentions a wife Elizabeth still living. (Copy attached as appendix to this chapter).

Rebecca³, a daughter of James² and Hannah (Allen) Holt, was born at Andover, March 24, 1688. She probably died young.

James³, the youngest son of James² Holt and his wife Hannah, was born in 1690, and died the same date as his father of smallpox.

I Joseph Holt of Reading in the County of Middlesex and
Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England yeoman —
Being so far advanced in years as leaves me no Room to Ex-
pect any Long Continuance in Life therefore have thought it
my Duty to discharge my mind of all Worldly cares and concerns
as far as possible to End I may spend the Remainder of my Day in
Preparation for Eternity, for Which Purpose I hereby Dispose of my
Worldly Goods and Estate in the following manner (viz) —

- 1^{ly} I will and order that my just Debts and Funeral charges be paid
out of my Estate as soon as can conveniently be done after my
Decease —
- 2^{ly} I Give to ^{the} Heirs of my Daughter Abigail Wife of Obed Johnson ^{Deceased} ~~Deceased~~
the ^{sum} of thirteen pounds, six Shillings and Eight pence Lawful
money to be paid to them within twelve months after my Decease
- 3^{ly} I Give to the Heirs of my Daughter Thebe Wife of Jonathon
Batchelder (which Daughter is Deceased) the Sum of thirteen
Pounds six Shillings and Eight pence Lawful money to be
paid to them in twelve months after my Decease —
- 4^{ly} I Give to my Daughter Elizabeth Abbot wife of Peter Abbot
the Sum of thirteen pounds, six Shillings and Eight pence
Lawful money to be paid to within twelve months after
my Decease —
- 5^{ly} I Give to my Daughter Rachel Upton wife of James Upton
the Sum of thirteen pounds, six Shillings and Eight pence
Lawful money to be paid within twelve months after my Decease
- 6^{ly} I Give to my Son Joseph Holt, (after the foregoing Legacies
are paid, to the said Joseph Holt and to his Heirs and Assigns
for ever, all my Land, and Buildings of every Denomination
whatsoever that I have Situate lying and being in either in
the Townships of Reading or Andover &c all my Estate
at above Places both in Reading and Andover, Except the
Improvement of some part of the House, the use of which
I have Given to my Wife Elizabeth Holt during so long as
she continues my Widow also I Give my Son aforesaid all
my Husbandry Utensels, Cattle Horses Sheep and Swine
all my Corn meatt and hay that shall be either in my house
or

or Houses and in my Barn or upon the ground Except any
thing or thing that shall accrue to my Wife aforesaid by the aforesaid
agreement - - -

Lastly I do hereby constitute make and ordain my son Joseph Holt the
Sole Executor of this my last Will and Testament Ratifying and
allowing this and no other to be so In Witness whereof I have
hereunto set my hand and seal this Twentieth day of September
Anno Domini one thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy three
and in the thirteenth year of his majesty's Reign
Signed Sealed Published and Declared
By the said Joseph Holt to be his last
Will and Testament in presence of

mark
Joseph X Holt
His

Philemon Chandler
John Bragg
Thomas Chandler
1773

A true copy.
Attest.

Loring Jordan

Register.

CHAPTER X.

JOHN² HOLT, SON OF NICHOLAS¹ AND HIS SON MOSES³

JOHN² HOLT, the son of Nicholas and his second wife Hannah, widow of Daniel Rolfe and daughter of Hannah Bradstreet, was born at Andover, January 14, 1664, making him thirty years younger than his eldest sister Hannah Gray.

John² married July 3, 1685, Sarah Geery, or Gary, the daughter of Nathaniel and Anne (Douglas) Gary of Roxbury. Sarah was born at Roxbury, July 3, 1665. After the marriage of her sister Elizabeth to William Abbot, Sarah went to Andover to reside. She married John Holt at Andover on her twentieth birthday.

John² died March 10, 1687, soon after his twenty-third birthday, and before their second wedding anniversary.

In November, 1687, Sarah married John Preston, the son of Roger and Martha Preston. He was one of the "boys" whom Martha brought with her when she married Nicholas¹ Holt.

Sarah, the one time widow of John, died in 1691.

MOSES³ HOLT, SON OF JOHN²

John and Sarah Holt were the parents of twin boys, born June 7, 1686. Aaron died early; only Moses survived.

January 31, 1716, Moses³ married Elizabeth Russell, the daughter of Robert and Mary (Marshall) Russell. Elizabeth was born July 16, 1687, and so was twenty-six years younger than her sister Mary, the wife of

Nicholas² Holt, the uncle of Moses³. Robert Russell left his daughter Elizabeth 20 pounds.

Moses³ evidently led a very uneventful life; he died in his forty-fourth year, November 7, 1730.

The bond of the administration of the estate of Moses³ Holt is signed by Timothy², Nicholas², Thomas² and Humphrey² Holt. In the division of the real estate, the widow received twelve acres of land on the north side of Salem Street, adjoining land of Nicholas Holt, besides 42 lbs. 4s as her share of her husband's estate.

The death of Elizabeth, the widow of Moses, is not recorded in Andover.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DAUGHTERS OF NICHOLAS¹ AND THEIR CHILDREN

NICHOLAS had six daughters, four of whom grew up and married. Priscilla² and Rebecca² both died in infancy.

A: THE GRAYS

Hannah², the eldest child of Nicholas, was probably an infant when she came from England with her parents. Her days both at Newbury and later at Andover were occupied in taking care of her younger brothers and sisters. She remained at home until her own mother had died, and her father had married and buried his second wife, Martha, and already married his third wife. Hannah² was at least thirty-four years of age when on March 8, 1668, she was married to Robert Gray of Salem, a mariner. The two younger sisters had been married before her.

Little is known of the early history of Robert Gray, but the very year that he was married he was fined in Salem for attending a Quaker meeting.

Robert and Hannah² lived for a time in Salem, where three of their children were born. They removed later to Andover. In 1678 Robert took the oath of allegiance at Andover. Later, his father-in-law deeded him lands adjoining his own property, extending along the Salem road and "abutting to the southward of land of my son Nicholas". In 1699, Robert bought some hundred acres from Henry Holt Sr. and Mr. Dudley Bradstreet. These deeds have been handed down in the family, and his heirs have continued to occupy the homestead for over two hundred years.

Robert Gray died September 5, 1718, aged about 84.

Hannah, his wife, died March 30, 1728. Assuming these Andover records are correct, then Hannah² lived more than four score years and ten. She was the first born of the children of Nicholas, and outlived all her brothers and sisters.

During her lifetime, great changes had taken place in Old England. Born in the reign of Charles the First, she had experienced the thrill felt in her new home by all the neighbors when Cromwell became Lord Protector of England. Then followed the Restoration, the short reign of the Catholic King, James the Second, the happy days of William and Mary, the brilliant reign of Queen Anne, not that Anne cast any lustre upon it, and then the reign of George of Hanover.

Life had been much more peaceful in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay. The bear and the wolf and even the hostile Indians had gradually retreated before the English settlers. Pastures and tilled lands were encroaching upon the forests, and roads were joining town to town. Yet one imagines that Hannah² Gray, nee Holt, rode to church either on horseback or on a pillion, and wonders if she had ever journeyed as far as Boston, the capital of the Province.

Catherine³ Gray, the eldest child, was born in Salem July 15, 1670. When she was fifty years of age, she became a member of the South Church. It is to be inferred that before this time she was a member of the North Church, but its records have either been lost, or have been put in some unremembered place for safe-keeping. Catherine³ died at Andover September 28, 1751, aged eighty-one.

Henry³ Gray was born at Salem January 17, 1671. He married Mary Blount of Billerica May 13, 1699. This Mary Blount was born in Andover September 28, 1679, the daughter of William and Elizabeth (Ballard) Blount.

The Chelmsford marriage record under the name Ballard reads: Elizabeth, d. William of Andover and Wm. Blount, Nov. 11, 1668. She was, therefore, a sister to Sarah, the wife of Henry Holt. William Blount took the oath of allegiance in Andover in 1678, and in 1692 paid rates for the minister in the South End of the town. Elizabeth died July 11, 1689: William died April 3, 1709, about sixty-seven years old.

Henry³ Gray inherited the homestead from his father, and bought the rights of other members of the family to other lands, and thus became the owner of large estates. He and his wife were both members of the South Church.

Mary, the wife of Henry, died August 7, 1773. Henry died July 1, 1741. His will was probated July 20, 1741. His estate was willed to his son, Henry. To other sons money was given; and to his six daughters he left pewter plates and dishes and all his books. He refers to money and lands previously given to his sons and daughters. The estate was valued at about sixteen hundred pounds.

Jemima³ Gray was born at Salem October 1, 1673. She died at the age of seven months.

Hannah³ Gray was born at Salem November 30, 1674. She married Thomas Abbot at Andover December 7, 1697.

Thomas Abbot was born at Andover May 6, 1666, the son of George Abbot Sr., and his wife Hannah (Chandler) Abbot. Thomas was a farmer, and lived on the west side of the Shawsheen River on what is now known as the old David Barker place. The house still stands and is one of the oldest in Andover.

Thomas died April 28, 1728. His wife, Hannah (Gray) Abbot died January 25, 1763, aged eighty-nine.

George Abbot Sr., father of the above Thomas Abbot, was one of the original proprietors of Andover. He

is called *Sr.* to distinguish him from another George Abbot, sometimes called George Abbot of Rowley, or George Abbot Jr. The two families are not known to be related. In 1647 George Abbot Sr. was married to Hannah Chandler of Roxbury, the daughter of William and Annis Chandler.

This George Abbot Sr. took an active part in the affairs of Andover, especially in the defense of the town against the Indians. A garrison house was built in the rear of his home in the south part of town. One of his sons was killed by the Indians, and another, Timothy, a mere lad, was captured by them and remained in captivity until he was brought home by an old squaw. It is also noteworthy that seven of the children or grandchildren of George Abbot Sr. married the grandchildren of Nicholas Holt.

George Abbot Sr. died in December, 1681, aged sixty-six. His widow married the Rev. Francis Dane, pastor of the North Parish Church, at that time the only church in Andover. She died June 2, 1711, aged eighty-two years. In 1843 a monument was erected by their descendants to the memory of George and Hannah Abbot in the South Parish Graveyard, opposite his estates, which were near the present church.

The old red house, the homestead of George Abbot, was occupied by eight generations of the family. It was not demolished until 1862.

Edward³ Gray was born at Andover, September 12, 1679. December 2, 1702, he married Sarah Osgood, the daughter of Christopher and Hannah Osgood.

Christopher Osgood of Ipswich came in the *Mary and John* in 1634, the same ship that brought William Ballard and Henry Short. He died 1650 at Ipswich. His son Christopher was born in 1643. He had in succession four wives. On May 27, 1680, he married Hannah Barker, probably the daughter of Richard and Joanna



On the Shawsheen, Andover, Mass.



Farm House, Holt Hill, Andover, built before 1715, by Nicholas², 1647-1715. Willed to his son Nicholas³, 1680-1756. Now owned by Charles W. Ward, eight generations from Nicholas¹.

Barker. Hannah died April 6, 1687. Christopher, known as Captain Christopher from service in the Indian Wars, died May 9, 1723, in his eightieth year.

Sarah, the wife of Edward Gray, died May 14, 1718 in her thirty-sixth year.

The following year, October 27, 1719, Edward³ married Hannah Barker, the daughter of William and Mary Barker of Andover.

William Barker and Mary Dix were married at Andover February 20, 1676. William died March 4, 1717-18, in his seventy-third year. Mary, the widow of William, died April 29, 1744, in her eighty-ninth year. Their two daughters Hannah and Hepzibah, married grandsons of Nicholas Holt.

Hannah Barker, the wife of Edward³ Gray, was born at Andover September 5, 1681. Edward³ died September 15, 1759, eighty years old wanting three days. Hannah Gray, the widow of Edward, died January 27, 1762, aged eighty-one years.

Thomas³ Gray is one of the mysteries. Thomas Gray, the son of Robert and Hannah was born at Andover, September 16, 1681. Then the record notes the fact that in the original a line was drawn through the name and date. December 24, 1703 a Thomas Gray married Susannah Batchelder. No mention is made of any children or of her death. June 21, 1739 a Thomas Gray married Elizabeth Hutchinson. A daughter was born to them. The final record reads: Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Gray, died March 22, 1739-40, aged twenty four years, seven months, eighteen days. The Salem records throw no light upon this Thomas.

Brevitor³ Gray was born in Andover, September 29, 1685. He married November 10, 1710, Dorothy Abbot, the daughter of Thomas and Sarah Abbot.

Thomas Abbot was one of the early settlers of Andover, but it is not known whether he was related to

George Abbot Sr. or to George Abbot Jr. So far as records show, these represented three distinct families. Thomas Abbot married in Andover, December 15, 1664, Sarah Steward who died February 16, 1715-16, in her sixty-ninth year. He died May 15, 1695. Dorothy was born January 2, 1676.

Brevitor³ Gray was granted land by committees between 1715 and 1721 and later. He and his wife both joined the South Church July 10, 1715. He died November 10, 1724. His estate was valued at two hundred and ninety-one pounds, thirteen shillings and six pence. He died without making a will. In the settlement of the estate recorded at Salem, April 5, 1725, his wife Dorothy is given her dower rights; his brother Henry was one of the witnesses. The rest of the document cannot be read.

Aaron³ Gray was born April 14, 1692. He died December 20, 1711, in his twentieth year.

B: THE FARNUMS

Nicholas¹ and his wife Elizabeth had been settled in Newbury less than a year when their second child was born, March 30, 1636. She was named Elizabeth² for her mother. She was about seven years of age when the family moved to Andover. The girlhood and early womanhood of Elizabeth² and her sisters were passed in the village now known as North Andover. The early settlers were not allowed to move at a distance from each other, for bears and wolves and deadly snakes infested the forests, and the Indians might not all be friendly. So neighbor lived within calling distance of neighbor for their mutual help and protection.

One wishes that some portrait of at least one of the daughters of Nicholas Holt had come down to us. How did they look and what did they wear? The apparel of the ladies of the Massachusetts Colony fell far short of

the Puritan ideal. Many of them had left homes of wealth but brought rich apparel with them. The ministers sometimes reprimanded them in their sermons for the length of their trains and veils, and a law was enacted that no man or woman should make or buy apparel either woolen, silk or linen with any lace on it, silver, gold, silk or thread, under penalty of forfeiture of such clothes. Later it was enacted that woman's sleeves should not be more than half an ell in the widest place, and veils, silk roses, double ruffs and cuffs were placed under an interdict. Nicholas Holt was a man of substance and one guesses that his daughters kept just within the law.

Again one wonders what amusements these daughters of Nicholas had besides the sermons and prayer meetings. The gracious Anne Bradstreet, the wife of the beloved magistrate Simon Bradstreet was their neighbor. As they played with the Bradstreet children, did they share the pleasure the mother felt in the woods and streams? Did they walk with her under the oak which she has described:

"Then on a stately Oak I cast mine Eye,
Whose ruffling top the clouds seem to aspire.
How long since thou wast in thine infancy?
Thy strength and stature, more thy years admire.
Hast hundred winters past since thou wast born?
Or thousand since thou breakest thy shell of horn?"

Let us hope that the Holt girls were not of that number of whom Anne Bradstreet wrote:

"I am obnoxious to each carping tongue
Who say my hand a needle better fits.
A Poet's pen all scorn I should thus wrong,
For such despite they cast on Female wits!
If what I do prove well, it won't advance.
They'll say it's stolen, or done by chance."

But whether they shared the intellectual enjoyments of Anne Bradstreet or not, they grew to womanhood and young men came awooing. But here again they were under the protection of the law. There was no meeting under broad oaks or by wooded streams. The General Court had enacted that if any young man attempted to address a young woman without consent of her parents, or, in case of their absence, of a neighboring magistrate of the County Court, he shall be fined five pounds for the first offense, ten pounds for the second, and imprisonment for the third. So with due formality, Ralph Farnum (Farnham) obtained the consent of Father Nicholas, and October 26, 1658, married Elizabeth² Holt.

Even in the matter of their marriage, the custom was different from that in Old England, and was one of the causes of controversy between the Mother Country and her colony. In Holland, marriages were performed by civil officers, not by ministers, according to a law of William the Silent. The Pilgrims at Plymouth, without a minister, followed this custom, and Winslow, a magistrate but not a minister, was arrested in England for having united youth and maid in the holy bonds of matrimony. The Massachusetts Colony followed the lead of Plymouth and forbade ministers to perform marriages, a law that was in force as long as the original charter. So Ralph Farnum and Elizabeth² Holt were married by Mr. Simon Bradstreet, a magistrate, not a minister; and it was so happy a marriage that Holts and Farnums have been marrying each other ever since. Elizabeth² was married the same year that her father married the Widow Rolfe.

This Ralph Farnum who married Elizabeth² Holt was the same Ralph Farnum who had come to this country on the James when he was only two years old. In the list of all male persons over sixteen years old who took the oath of allegiance to the king, February, 1678, are the names of the three brothers, Ralph, Thomas and

John Farnum, and Ralph's son, who had just passed his sixteenth birthday, Ralph Farnum Jr.

Ralph Farnum probably lived in North Andover, where many of his descendants still live. In the earliest tax list of Andover which has been preserved the Farnums are taxed for the north end of the town. Ralph's tax was seven shillings and sixpence.

There has been much confusion concerning the death of Ralph Farnum. A Ralph Farnum died at Andover, January 8, 1692. His estate, probated March 29, 1693, was valued at 130 lbs 17s. It has been assumed that this was the husband of Elizabeth² Holt, and her death has been recorded as Elizabeth² Farnum, the widow of Ralph. But this is probably an error.

Mrs. Ethel G. H. Philbrick, of Salem, one of our members, who resides at Salem and has given most valuable aid to the committee preparing this book by searching for family wills and deeds preserved at Salem, has found these deeds which prove that Elizabeth² Holt died a wife, not a widow. September 16, 1698, Ralph Farnum and wife Elizabeth² conveyed land to Ephraim Stevens. December 16, 1709, Ralph Farnum and others,—his wife is mentioned—conveyed land. After this Elizabeth's name is not given. But July 9, 1715, land is conveyed by the Ralph Farnum Estate. In searching for the parentage of Elizabeth Farnum who married George Holt, Mrs. Philbrick found a deed dated January 29, 1719-20 by which George Holt conveyed to his brother-in-law, John Farnum, land which he had received from his "Honored father-in-law, Ralph Farnum, deceased since April, 1715."

Ralph Farnum, the emigrant, had three sons residing in Andover, Thomas, Ralph and John. The two sons, Thomas and John, left wills, but they mention no son Ralph. There is no other Ralph excepting the husband of Elizabeth Holt who could have had a daughter Eliza-

beth old enough to marry George Holt. The proof seems positive that Ralph, the husband of Elizabeth Holt, died in April 1715.

Elizabeth², the wife of Ralph Farnum, died October 14, 1710.

THE CHILDREN

Sarah³, the oldest child of Ralph and Elizabeth² (Holt) Farnum, was born January 14, 1661. When she was about twenty-four years of age, April 22, 1685, she married Benjamin Abbot, the son of George Abbot Sr. and Hannah (Chandler) Abbot, and an older brother of Thomas Abbot, who married Sarah's cousin, Hannah Gray. Benjamin was born December 20, 1662, probably in the old Abbot house which was also used as a garrison.

Benjamin and Sarah³ built their home near the Shawsheen River, now crossed by the railroad bridge. The house is still standing on the outskirts of Andover, and is to-day used as a tea-house. It was probably of the Shawsheen River near it that Ann Bradstreet wrote:

“Under the cooling shadow of a stately elm,
Close sate I by a gentle river's side,
Whose gliding stream the rocks did overwhelm,
A lovely place, with pleasure dignified.”

Both Benjamin and Sarah³ were important witnesses against Martha Carrier, who was tried, convicted and hung for witchcraft in 1692. They were summoned by the court at Salem. Both Benjamin and Sarah³ testified that not only was Benjamin sorely afflicted and brought almost to death's door, but also his cattle were afflicted; but after the removal of Martha Carrier, Benjamin as well as his cattle improved.

Sarah³ became a member of the South Parish Church, but Benjamin's name is not recorded. He may have remained with the North Church. Neither death is recorded in Andover.



THE OLD ABBOT HOMESTEAD
ANDOVER, MASS.

BENJAMIN ABBOT HOMESTEAD

By Dr. R. A. Douglas-Lithgow

The quaint, charming homestead erected by Benjamin Abbot, the fifth son of George Abbot, Sr., in 1685 and situated in Andover near the Hartwell Abbot Bridge over the Shawsheen River, still stands in all its venerable pride as an enduring monument to its original builders.

In this house eight generations of Benjamin Abbot's family have found a peaceful and happy home, and notwithstanding the vicissitudes of time through which it has passed during two centuries and a quarter, its present condition augurs well for its stability during many years to come.

The house consists of two and a half stories, its facade facing south. It has the long sloping northern roof which for half a century characterized the houses of the Nantucket settlers who came from the neighborhood of Amesbury and Salisbury, and as in most cases it slopes down to domestic offices in the rear. On the western end there is a lean-to extending up to the second story with five windows and a door in front, on the eastern end is a neat well shed. A large pilastered chimney springs from the center of the roof, and the house is approached by a vine-clad pedimented portico. There are five windows on the level of the second story and two on each side of the entry door. The original framework remains strong and massive as ever and the corner posts in the second story are bracketed.

In the front of the house is a majestic elm tree nineteen feet in girth and doubtless two hundred and fifty to three hundred years old. This noble tree with its mature branches mantled in vivid green seems to smile at the passing of time, and although its ample arms are manacled in chains to support them in their old age, it is only because its venerable character extending through a long past is still loved and revered by those who still venerate it in the present.

Ralph³ Farnum, the oldest son of Ralph and Elizabeth² (Holt) Farnum, was born June 1, 1662. He married October 9, 1685, Sarah Sterling, sometimes spelled Starling, the daughter of William Sterling of Haverhill.

William Sterling was presumably born not far from London, England in 1637. He gave his age in 1667 as thirty and later in 1672, gave it as thirty-five. He was one of the early settlers of Rowley, but later removed to Haverhill. He was known as mariner, ship-builder and miller. In 1684 he was elected selectman, and about the same time sold his house and land to the town of Haverhill for the minister. He received in part payment land on Fishing River, where he built a mill. In 1697 or '98, he removed to Lyme, Connecticut, where he engaged in ship-building. A letter to a Boston merchant complains that the vessel is in the stocks and the men "are heare upon charge", but the merchant has not sent the iron which is necessary to continue the work. So there were business troubles even then. William Sterling died at Lyme, Connecticut, January 22, 1719. His tombstone states that he was in his eighty-seventh year, which does not agree with his own statement of his age.

William Sterling was married first to Elizabeth, who died in Haverhill, February 6, 1675. He married later three widows in succession, and left children in Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Sarah Sterling, who became the wife of Ralph³ Farnum, was born at Haverhill, May 4, 1669. She and a sister received from their father his common rights in the undivided land of the township of Haverhill.

Ralph³ Farnum and his wife Sarah lived uneventful lives, if we can judge by the records. He was summoned as a witness in the trial of Martha Carrier. They both joined the South Church, the only Farnums with the ex-

ception of Ralph's sister, Sarah Abbot, who became connected with it.

Sarah died April 13, 1732. About six years later Ralph³ died, January 3, 1738, in his fifty-sixth year.

In a little less than two years April 1, 1664, another son was born to Ralph and Elizabeth² (Holt) Farnum. He was named John³. He had just passed his twentieth birthday, when he married, April 10, 1684, Elizabeth Parker, the daughter of Nathan and Mary Parker.

The two brothers, Joseph and Nathan Parker, came from Newbury to Andover, at the same time as Nicholas¹ Holt, and both were proprietors in the new town. The oldest brother, Joseph, left valuable property, besides estates in England. Nathan was prominent in town affairs, but at his death the entire value of his estate was only 148 lbs. Included in this were bridle, saddle, and pillion, pewter and glass bottles all valued at 2 lbs.

The maiden name of his second wife Mary, the mother of Elizabeth, is not known. Nathan Parker died at Andover, June 25, 1685. His widow, Mary Parker, died October 2, 1695.

Elizabeth, the wife of John³ Farnum, was a year older than her husband, having been born January 20, 1663.

John³ Farnum, like his brother Ralph³, took little part in the town affairs, or at least his name does not appear in the records. His wife Elizabeth died January 11, 1717. John³ died January 10, 1729, in his sixty-fifth year.

In less than two years after the birth of John, another son was born December 7, 1666, to Ralph and Elizabeth² (Holt) Farnum. His name was Henry³. He died in his seventeenth year, May 7, 1683.

A daughter came next, Hannah³, born December 7, 1668. She married her cousin, Samuel³ Holt, the son of

Samuel², the oldest son of Nicholas. They were married March 28, 1693. They both left the North Church and became members of the South Church at its beginning. Samuel³ died July 20, 1747. Hannah died January 30, 1758, having attained the age of eighty-nine years.

After Hannah³ came Thomas³, born July 14, 1670. May 14, 1693, he married Hannah Hutchinson.

The name of Hutchinson is not prominent in the history of Andover. Samuel Hutchinson took the oath of allegiance in 1678, and in 1692 paid the rate for the minister in the north end of the town. But neither the birth nor the parentage of Hannah, the wife of Thomas, is recorded.

Hannah died May 19, 1716, in her forty-first year.

Thomas³ married August 3, 1720 for his second wife Dorothy Lacy, the daughter of Lawrence and Mary (Foster) Lacy, born August 6, 1677.

Lawrence Lacy and Mary Foster were married August 5, 1673. In the witchcraft delusion, his wife and her mother, Ann Foster, were arrested and both condemned. The mother died in prison, but Mary, the wife of Lawrence, was set free. She died June 18, 1707. Lawrence died May 28, 1729, about eighty-five years of age.

Thomas³ Farnum died April 28, 1744. In his will he provided bountifully for his wife, Dorothy.

Dorothy, the widow of Thomas, died October 10, 1747, in her seventy-first year.

The youngest child of Ralph and Elizabeth² (Farnum) Holt was Ephraim³, born October 1, 1676. He married March 20, 1700, his cousin, Priscilla³ Holt, the daughter of James² and Hannah (Allen) Holt. Priscilla³ was born August 13, 1679. Ephraim³ and Priscilla³ lived on the old homestead. Since Ephraim's marriage occurred eight years after the death of his father, probably his mother lived with them.

Ephraim³ died at Andover, June 9, 1744.

Priscilla's death is not recorded in Andover or in the vital records of Concord, New Hampshire, where it is said she lived after the death of her husband.

These sons of Ralph and Elizabeth Farnum seem to have been content to till their fields and to remain in obscurity, but the next generation was well represented in the War of the Revolution.

It will be noticed that a space of six years intervened between the births of Thomas Farnum and his brother Ephraim. Miss Alice R. Farnum of Boston, who is descended from Nicholas Holt in two lines, and who has searched the records in the Boston State House to help in this work, has in her possession a chart of the Farnum family given her by a deceased relative. This chart records among the children of Ralph and Elizabeth (Holt) Farnum, Elizabeth and Samuel. The chart gives no dates. These are evidently the Elizabeth that married George Holt and the Samuel that married Hannah, the daughter of James Holt.

THE JOHNSONS

Mary², the third daughter of Nicholas and Elizabeth Holt, was born in Newbury, October 6, 1638. She was the first of the children of Nicholas to marry, and hers was one of the first ten marriages in Andover. Her daughter Mary³ was the first grandchild of Nicholas, and the first Johnson child born in Andover.

Mary² was married July 5, 1667 by Simon Bradstreet to Thomas Johnson, who at the age of four came on the James in 1635 with his father John Johnson, known later as "Haverhill John."

Thomas Johnson, the son-in-law of Nicholas, was a busy man. He was a farmer, carpenter, surveyor, constable, lieutenant, church member and father of a large family.

Many of the early settlers of New England, besides tilling the soil, had a trade. This in no way defines the status of their families in Old England. Some of them, driven from their homes because of their faith, had supported themselves by manual labor before they left for the New World. The Massachusetts Colony encouraged free labor. In 1641, this law was passed: "There shall never be any bond slaverie, villinage or captivitie amongst us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as shall willingly sell themselves or are sold to us." Four years later a vessel from Guinea sold negroes in Massachusetts. The colony did not dare to risk a break with England, but as a warning to its own citizens and as a deterrent to other vessels from continuing the practice, the owners were ordered to send their slaves to Boston and they were returned to Guinea at the expense of the Colony. Yet it was pointed out to these people that twenty Moors could be kept at the price of one white servant.

But for the sake of humanity and because the Massachusetts Colony did not believe in slavery, Thomas Johnson built houses and planted his acres and reaped his harvest, and Robert Gray bent over his forge and "ran his farm", and their wives, besides the spinning and weaving, cooked for their large families. Was labor ever more beautiful?

When Thomas Johnson was about fourteen years of age, a law was passed that "all youth within this jurisdiction from ten years old to the age of sixteen years, shall be instructed by some one of the officers of the band, or some other experienced soldier,—in the exercise of arms, as small guns, half pikes, bows and arrows."

And so the Johnsons, the Grays, the Farnums, and the Holts met as boys for this practice. They must have known well each other's ability, and later when as men they elected their officers, they knew to whom honor was

due. In 1674 Thomas Johnson was elected Sergeant of the militia and later Lieutenant.

Before this, however, he had had a quarrel over a hoe with his neighbor Christopher Osgood which had resulted in blows. Notwithstanding this, the following year Thomas was elected Constable. In 1676 he was surveyor, a position he held for some time. In 1696 another was chosen lot-layer, "in the room of Lt. Thomas Johnson his age calling for a revit of ease."

While he was not among those summoned to appear in the witchcraft trials, it is an honor to him that his name, that of his son, Thomas Johnson Jr., and of Mary Johnson, probably Mary (Holt) Johnson, appear on the petition for the release of the accused.

Thomas Johnson and Mary² (Holt) Johnson lived on the road leading from Ipswich to Billerica. In 1687 Thomas signed a petition with four others that William Chandler might have an inn on that road, as it had many travellers, who had to go out of their way for an inn, or stop at the houses of the people on that road, which they often did much to their inconvenience. Ipswich was an important town with many people who held high positions in the government. Representatives to the General Court of Boston may have stopped at the home of Thomas Johnson. A company of militia may have paused at the door. Students of Harvard passed that way; farmers driving a flock of geese to the larger market, or a doctor hurrying to some patient in a remote section of the country. The daughter of Nicholas Holt and her hospitable husband received them all, and in exchange for their welcome, their guests brought them news from other communities. And sad news it was about the time that William Chandler started his inn or a little later. For Andros had come as a royal governor with the news that King James had declared their charter void. These must have been exciting times for the children and grand-

children of Nicholas Holt, and they doubtless did their part in overthrowing that government and electing their neighbor and townsman, Simon Bradstreet, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Mary² Holt, the wife of Thomas Johnson, died at Andover, November 15, 1700. Three years later, Thomas married for his second wife Demaris Marshall. He died February 15, 1719, aged eighty-eight.

THE CHILDREN OF THOMAS AND MARY²

Mary³ Johnson, the oldest daughter of Thomas Johnson and his wife Mary Holt, was born at Andover, February 11, 1659. She had barely passed her fourteenth year when, September 17, 1673, she married Return Johnson of Andover. Return took the oath of allegiance in Andover, February 11, 1678. This is the last we hear of Mary³ and Return in Andover. Neither Mary³ nor her brother Peter is mentioned in the division of their father's property in 1724. It is probable that she did not outlive her father and died without heirs.

Susanna³ was born October 4, 1662. Phebe³ was born January 3, 1664. After the birth of four brothers, Jemima³ was born, January 1, 1678. Evidently these three girls remained unmarried, and their deaths are not recorded in Andover. But in the settlement of the estate of their father, Thomas Johnson, in 1724, seven children are mentioned: the four brothers, John³, Thomas³, James³, and Josiah³; and the three girls, Susannah³, Phebe³, and Jemima³. John³ Johnson, the administrator, received a larger portion, but the other sons and daughters shared alike in the division of the real estate.

Probably the oldest daughter Mary³ and the son Peter died before their father Thomas.

John³ Johnson was born February 28, 1668. He

married, September 13, 1689, Eleanor Ballard, the daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth Ballard.

Joseph was the eldest son of William Ballard who came to Massachusetts in 1634 on the *Mary and John*, and so was a brother to Sarah, the wife of Henry Holt. Joseph married Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward and Elizabeth (Adams) Phelps of Andover. She died July 27, 1692. It was in connection with her illness and death that witchcraft was brought into Andover. Joseph Ballard and his brother John started a fulling mill on the Shawsheen River. They have been called the "father of Mills."

Eleanor was born August 24, 1672, and died November 21, 1707.

The following year, May 18, 1708, John³ married Mary Farnum, the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Farnum.

Thomas Farnum at the age of four came to Boston on the *James* in 1635 with his father and mother and younger Brother Ralph. On the same ship were the Johnsons. A friendship was evidently formed between the families that in the next generation resulted in three Johnson boys marrying four Farnum girls.

July 8, 1660, Thomas Farnum married Elizabeth Sibborn. Elizabeth died August 26, 1683. Thomas, called Sergeant, died January 11, 1686 at Andover, where he had lived for several years. His will was probated March 30, 1686. In it he named his dear brothers Ralph and John "as overseers of will". His estate was valued at 261 lbs. 14s 5d.

Mary, the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth, was born March 24, 1666, and so was thirty-two years of age when she married John Johnson. She died May 17, 1723.

The same year, August 24, 1723, John³ Johnson mar-

ried a cousin of his second wife, a widow, Anna (Farnum) Russ, a daughter of John and Rebecca Farnum.

John Farnum, a brother of Thomas and Ralph, was born after the family arrived in America. November 12, 1667, he married Rebecca Kent. In 1692, he was a taxpayer in the north end of town. John died at Andover June 17, 1723 in his eighty-third year. In his will, probated July 8, 1723, he calls himself husbandman. He remembered his wife Rebecca, his daughter Ann, and referred to lands formerly given to his sons. His will shows him to have been a prosperous and fair-minded farmer.

His widow, Rebecca, died February 8, 1728-1729, about seventy-eight years of age.

Anna Farnum was born December 11, 1677. At the age of twenty-three she married Thomas Russ, who died in 1707, in his thirty-first year. Anna had been a widow sixteen years when she married John Johnson as his third wife.

John³ died May 26, 1741. Anna survived him by two years. She died December 31, 1743.

Thomas³ Johnson was born October 9, 1670. On July 24, 1701, he married Hannah Stone, the daughter of Hugh and Hannah Stone.

Hugh Stone and Hannah Foster were married at Andover October 15, 1667. In 1678 Hugh was among those who took the oath of allegiance. In a fit of drunken temper he killed his wife and was hanged.

Hannah Stone was born March 23, 1679-80. Thomas met with a horrible death; October 22, 1733 his house caught fire. He died according to the old record "in the flames of his house which was burnt with fiér." In the settlement of his estate, October 29, 1733, his widow Hannah was given her dower rights. His widow Hannah died February 5, 1744-5.

James³ Johnson was born February 4, 1672. He was

married by Captain Danforth, April 2, 1692, to Elizabeth (Farnum) Peters, a widow, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Farnum, and consequently a sister to Mary Farnum, whom John Johnson married for his second wife.

In his will, Thomas Farnum left to his eldest daughter Elizabeth for her love and care in sickness, oxen and a large part of his estate.

Elizabeth Farnum was married February 8, 1685, to Andrew Peters, who was killed by the Indians August 14, 1689. James Johnson was twenty years old when he married the widow of Andrew Peters, who was ten years his senior. But among the local historians the Farnum girls have always been renowned for their good looks.

Elizabeth died January 31, 1716, aged about fifty-four.

Elizabeth died in January, and the following August 28, 1716, James² married a widow, Sarah Smith. The Andover records read, "James Johnson of Andover and Sarah Smith of Boxford", and the Boxford records add that they were married at Andover.

Sarah Smith, the widow of Benjamin Smith, was the daughter of Joseph and Bethiah (Bridges) Peabody. She was born at Boxford, September 4, 1676. Three of the daughters of Joseph married grandsons of Nicholas Holt, and one of the sons married a daughter of James Holt. A brief record of the Peabodys will be found under the record of Thomas Holt, the first to marry in the family.

Edmund Bridges, the maternal grandfather of Sarah (Peabody) Smith, came to this country at the age of twenty-three on the *James* in 1635, the same voyage that brought the Johnsons and the Farnums. Ralph Farnum Sr., John Johnson and Edmund Bridges, as they stood on the deck of the *James* and talked of their future

plans, knitted bonds of friendship that later united their grandchildren in marriage.

James³ Johnson died October 14, 1748.

Peter³, the son of Thomas and Mary² (Holt) Johnson, was born at Andover, August 8, 1675. He married November 29, 1693, Mehitable Farnum, the daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth Farnum, a sister to Mary and Elizabeth. Mehitable was born February 25, 1673.

In a land conveyance dated December 5, 1718, Peter and his wife Mehitable conveyed land to Samuel Farnum.

After this Peter and his wife disappear from Andover records. Neither are they mentioned in the division of the property of Thomas Johnson in 1724. They may have moved from Andover. But if they lived, they had names to distinguish them, Peter and wife Mehitable.

Josiah³ Johnson, the youngest son of Thomas² and Mary (Holt) Johnson, was born at Andover, October 29, 1683. He married June 19, 1711, Annis Chandler.

William Chandler and his wife Annis, whose maiden name seems to have been Alcock, came to Roxbury in 1637, and were members of John Elliot's church. About four years after their arrival, William Chandler died of consumption. Three of his children became residents of Andover: Hannah, the wife of George Abbot Sr., and his sons Thomas and William. Thomas and William Chandler were among the early proprietors of Andover. Thomas was a blacksmith and carried on iron works by which he became a rich man. He was representative to the General Court. He married Hannah Brewer. The notice of his death reads: Capt. Thomas Chandler died January 15, 1702-3." Hannah widow of Captain Thomas Chandler, died October 25, 1717, in her eighty-eighth year.

Their son Thomas was born October 9, 1664. He married, May 22, 1686, Mary Peters, the daughter of Andrew and Mercy Peters. Thomas Johnson and Mary

were married by Major Salstonstall. Thomas was also a representative to the General Court. To quote from the record, "Mr. Thomas Chandler died January 26, 1736-37, in his seventy-third year." Mary, his widow, died July 21, 1753, in her eighty-sixth year. Their daughter Annis, who married Josiah Johnson, was born March 24, 1689.

Josiah³ Johnson died October 15, 1727.

After the death of Josiah, his widow, still under forty, married Benjamin Robbins.

The many descendants of Nicholas Holt who are also descendants of William and Annis (Alcock) Chandler who came here in 1637, will find interesting reading in the carefully written book, "The Descendants of William and Annis Chandler" by George Chandler, published in 1883. This book is quoted as authority on the Chandler family, so painstaking was the author.

The Johnson families have been original, vigorous participants in the public affairs of Essex County, Massachusetts. Some member of the family would be repaid if he would disentangle the existing records and hunt for the missing ones of what have been called "The puzzling children of Haverhill John."

D: THE MARKS

Sarah² Holt's birth is recorded in "Pope's Pioneers of Massachusetts" as June 2, 1640. In Miss Bailey's "Historical Sketches of Andover" she says, "An original deed is before me, made in 1680, in which Nicholas Holt conveyed twenty acres of upland to his son-in-law, in consideration of natural love to my daughter Sarah² not long since married to Roger Marks."

Roger Marks was a soldier in Major Appleton's company in the Indian War. He was wounded in the great fight December 19, 1675. Hubbard in his book "Indian Wars" says, "It is hard to say who acquitted themselves

best in that day's service, either the soldiers for their man-like valor in fighting, or the commanders for their wisdom and courage, leading in the very face of death." Also in the same book, speaking of the Indians, it says, "Took their opportunity to fire Mr. Falconer's house in Andover town early that spring (April 19, 1676) and wounded Roger Marks and killed his horse."

Sarah² died December 22, 1690, of smallpox, which at that time invaded nearly every household. After this Roger Marks seems to have left the town.

No children have been found of this marriage.

Two other daughters were born to Nicholas¹ Holt. Priscilla², the daughter of his first wife Elizabeth, was born June 20, 1653, and died October 16, 1653, not quite four months old.

Rebecca², daughter of Nicholas¹ and Hanna, was born November 14, 1662. No further mention is made of Rebecca, so she probably died in infancy.

PART II.

The William Holt Branch



CHAPTER I.

THE WILLIAM HOLT BRANCH

THE arrival of many of our early settlers is shrouded in mystery; such is the case with William Holt. New Haven was still in its infancy when his name is found in its records showing that he is taking a prominent part in its affairs. But when and how he left England are still matters of conjecture.

It seems probable, however, that he is the same William Holt who sailed on the *Truelove* of London, Robert Dennis master, bound for the Bermudas or Somer Islands. In June, 1635, William Holt was examined at Gravesend near London, and on the passenger list he is given as nineteen years of age.

A brief reference to the history of the Bermudas throws some light on the conjectural course of this young man, William Holt.

In the year 1629, the Bermuda Islands had a population of between two and three thousand people, which was rapidly increasing. The Islands were free from savages and life was easier than on the mainland of America. Already it had a fair commerce with New England and Virginia, and vessels often stopped there for cargoes of potatoes, oranges and lemons.

But the Islands had many internal difficulties. The staunch followers of King Charles were in power; and when the crown sent an order that all subjects should take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, Captain Turner, who had become governor in 1642, carried out the order with such zeal that the prisons were soon overflowing with men who were independent in their religious beliefs. These prisoners "for conscience' sake" appealed to Parliament, which ordered their release. But the

mild, broad policy of the New England Puritan had no place among the Royalists of Bermuda. When the news came of the execution of King Charles, they rose in arms and banished all the Parliamentarians to an adjacent island, where their sufferings were so great that Boston voted a large sum for their assistance. A petition from the Dissenters was sent to Parliament, and by its order, dated October 27, 1645, the persecutions ceased, and all political and religious prisoners were freed.

These persecutions were at their height between 1643 and 1645. It was in 1644 that William Holt first appears in the New Haven records. The name has not been found in any of the records of Bermuda. It seems probable that he, like many others of the Dissenters on the Somer Islands, seized a favorable opportunity to make his way to the more tolerant New England.

By 1640 so many were leaving England for the New World that the authorities ceased to preserve their names at Westminster but contented themselves with accepting the statement of the master of the vessel that all his passengers were loyal subjects of the king and had professed their allegiance to the established church. For this reason the names of many of our ancestors were unrecorded until they became a part of the civil and religious life of New England.

Of such number were John and Tabitha Thomas, whose two daughters were married to John and Eleazar Holt, sons of William of New Haven.

The Thomases were evidently given to travelling. Many of the name sailed to Virginia, Massachusetts, the Island of St. Christopher and the Bermudas; and in Connecticut they were represented by John Thomas and his wife Tabitha.

But no relationship has yet been proven between John Thomas of New Haven and any other branch of the family. Nor is the maiden name of Tabitha known, nor

the place of her birth, nor the date of her marriage. But the name Tabitha is an unusual one in the early annals of New England, and the given name of the wife of John Thomas may sometime help to bring to light the early history of the family.

The independence and courage of youth is again attested by the wedding journey of Abraham Doolittle and his wife Joane Allen (spelled Alling in the colonial records) of Kempston, Bedfordshire, England. James Allen, the father of the bride, was a prosperous citizen of Kempston, yet like the majority of the founders of New England, they turned away from ease and comfort and voluntarily sought the hardships of pioneer life.

One imagines that their wedding journey was one of secrecy, as the time when they left England and the ship on which they sailed are equally unknown. They were in Boston as early as 1640 when Abraham was but twenty-one years of age. Then followed the journey from Boston to New Haven, either through the forest along Indian trails, or by boat around Cape Cod. Around Cape Cod and Point Judith—in a small boat, or a hundred miles and more through the primeval forest with the black eyes of Indians peering at one through the trees—but whichever road they chose, they arrived in safety at their destination.

Abraham Doolittle's name is mentioned in the division of land of New Haven in 1643, and in 1644 he was made the chief executive of the colony, although he was scarcely twenty-five years of age.

His son Abraham, born at New Haven in 1649, married at Wallingford, November 9th, 1680, Mercy, the only daughter of William Holt.

In contrast to the wedding journey of Abraham Doolittle and his bride is the sad voyage to America of John Beebe and his five motherless children. His marriage to Rebecca Ladd in 1627 and the baptisms of his eight

children are given in the church register of St. Andrews, the village of Broughton, Northamptonshire, a county that furnished a large quota to the ranks of the Puritans. But his wife, and his daughter Hannah, who would have been ten years of age when he sailed for New England, had probably died before he left his home, as no mention is made of them in his will. His two eldest sons, John, twenty-two, and Samuel, seventeen, had preceded him to the New World.

John Beebe was about fifty years of age when he left Broughton. He had with him his two daughters, Rebecca aged twenty, and Mary aged thirteen, and his three sons, Thomas, who seems to have been a twin of Samuel, Nathaniel aged fifteen, and James only eight.

John Beebe sailed for America in 1650, but the name of the vessel is not known. But a sad journey it was and many cares must have devolved upon the elder daughter Rebecca. For the father died on the voyage and was buried at sea. On the eighteenth of May 1650 he made his will, probably the very day of his death. In it he designated himself as husbandman, named his seven children, and divided his property equally among them, leaving to the care of the four older children the property willed to the younger. This will is preserved in the State Library at Hartford, but, strange to say, the name of the ship on which it was executed is not recorded.

His children who had sailed with him probably joined their brothers at Gloucester, Massachusetts, and became members of the church of the Rev. Richard Blinman, since in the following year they accompanied him to the Pequot Plantations in Connecticut, founded five years before, now known as New London. The new colony was evidently pleased at this addition to its numbers. Lots were given them at once upon their arrival in March, 1651; New Street, which had been opened up to them,

was called Cape Ann Lane. A little north of this section, the Beebe brothers, John, Thomas, Samuel and Nathaniel, had their lots.

In the course of time, Thomas Beebe, who had accompanied his father from England, married Millicent Addis, the daughter of William Addis, and their daughter, Rebecca Beebe, on April 5th, 1680, was married to Nathaniel Holt, the son of William.

Many devices were adopted by the Puritans in order to leave England. If Charles the First had had prophetic vision, he would have speeded the parting guest, not detained him.

Roger Harlakenden, his wife and sister and eight servants, stand in the record of the London custom-house as sailing on the *Defence* from London, July 4, 1635, Thomas Bostock, master. Among the servants were William French, 30, and Eliza, his wife, 32, and Elizabeth, aged 6 years, Maria, aged 2½ years, Francis, aged 10 months, and Joseph, aged 5 months. He probably came as a servant for purposes of deception. He was a freeman of Cambridge in 1636, and later was one of the first settlers of Billerica, Massachusetts. He was a Lieutenant in King Phillips' War, later Captain, and was the first representative of Billerica to the General Court. He also wrote a little treatise on Indian education called "Strength out of Weakness". These activities, and the fact that he performed no act of servitude for Harlakenden in the New World, prove that the position of servant was assumed for safety.

His eldest son, Francis French, born in England about 1625, moved to Derby near New Haven. He married Ann (Wilmot) Bunnell, and their daughter, the granddaughter of William, married Joseph French, the son of William Holt.

The same year that the James of London was bringing the founders of the Nicholas Holt family to New

England, another ship, the James of Bristol, brought to the port of Boston Richard Mather, his wife and sons. His wife was Catherine Holt, but whether related or not to Nicholas or William is unknown.

"The Journal of Richard Mather and his Life and Death" was published in 1850 by the Dorchester Antiquarian and Historical Society, Dorchester, Massachusetts. The following is a quotation from it:

"Being as hath been related settled in the ministry at Toxteth, he resolved to change his single condition: And accordingly he became a suitor to Mistress Katherine Hoult, Daughter to Edmund Hoult Esq., of Bury in Lancashire. She had (and that deservedly) the repute of a very godly and prudent Maid. The motion for several years met with obstructions by reason of her fathers not being affected towards Nonconformable Puritans: But at last he gave his consent that Mr. Mather should marry his daughter, the match therefore was consummated Septemb. 29, 1624. God made her to become a rich blessing to him, continuing them together for the space of above 30 years."

His journal of their voyage to America on the James of Britsol, with its record of daily events and the thrilling description of the great storm they encountered, is the finest piece of literature that has come down to us picturing life on the passenger ships in the year 1635.

Richard Mather and his family arrived in Bristol April 23rd, but not until June 23rd, did they lose sight of the shores of England. Near the end of their voyage, while off the coast of Cape Ann, a terrific storm swept the coast, so severe that Winthrop records in his diary that trees and houses were blown down. The James lost her three anchors and her sails were torn to shreds. But they were enabled to make repairs and put into the port of Boston, August the sixteenth.

Katherine died before her husband. Of her, the bio-

grapher writes: "That which of outward Afflictions did most agrieve him, was the Death of his dear Wife, who had been for so many years the greatest Comfort and Blessing which he did enjoy: which Affliction was the more grievous, in that she being a woman of singular prudence for the Management of affairs, had taken off from her Husband all secular Cares, so that he wholly devoted himself to his Study and the Sacred Employments." She was the mother of six sons, the most illustrious being the Boston minister, Increase Mather, the father of the equally famous son, Cotton Mather.

Whether related to William Holt of New Haven and Nicholas Holt of Andover or not, she evidently possessed the sterling qualities which we find conspicuous in the family.

Another Holt, not a son or grandson of Nicholas or William, was in New England at an early period. May 10, 1693, Richard Holt married Lydia Wormwood at Bridgewater, Massachusetts.

Only four Holts besides William and Nicholas, as far as this committee has been able to ascertain, are recorded as sailing from the shores of England in the seventeenth century.

In 1620, Randall Holt, aged eighteen, sailed in the *George* for America. It is added in the record that the rest of his servants, provisions, ammunition, etc. were at James' City.

In September, 1635, Humphrey Holt, aged eighteen, sailed on the *Dorset*, John Flower master, bound for the Bermudas.

Two other Holts appear in connection with the Bermuda Islands. April twenty-second, 1679, the secretaries' office in Bermuda granted a ticket to Rowland Holt to sail on the ship *Honor*, Thomas Warrener commander, for London. And the same office granted to Joseph

Holt, October sixteenth, 1679, a ticket to sail on the ship Hopewell, John Ayres master, for Antegoa.

The question naturally arises as to the possibility of Rowland Holt and Joseph Holt being descended from either Humphrey Holt or William, who had sailed for Bermuda more than forty years before. Only a careful study of the statistics of the Bermuda Island can answer this question. It may also answer the more important question to the Holts of America: Was William Holt, who sailed for the Bermudas in 1635, the same William Holt who afterward became a resident of the New Haven colony?

CHAPTER II.

WILLIAM HOLT, THE FIRST

IT is probable that William Holt was not one of the very first settlers at New Haven. His name suddenly appears upon the records of the New Haven colony on July 1st, 1644 as one of the signers of the Revised Constitution. The entry states that Theophilus Eaton being sworn in as Governor, in turn administered the oath of fidelity to the Free Burgesses of the Colony, among whom was William Holt. After that time his name appears in the records, so that it is fair to assume that he arrived in New Haven shortly before 1644. The question as to where he came from, has always been an interesting but an unsolved one. That he was of English descent there is no doubt, and that he was born in England appears probable, but how and when he came and in what company, has always been a mystery.

An old record of the voyage of the ship *Truelove* to the Bermudas or Summer Islands, contains among the list of passengers the name of William Holt, aged nineteen years. The *Truelove* sailed from London on June 10, 1635, and while the age given for the William Holt who sailed on her does not quite agree with the date of his birth as computed from the record of his death, still it is close enough to fit with reasonable accuracy, and there may have been a reason for understating it.

From the record of his death he would have been twenty-five years of age at the time of this voyage.

Many Englishmen who went to the Bermudas and the Barbadoes, afterward came to New England and it is no violent assumption that our ancestor was this passenger on the *Truelove*. No statement of his birthplace is given, and no relatives appear to have accompanied

him upon the vessel, so that his early life still remains a mystery.

In the History of the Holt Family, Durrie says that the original home lot of William Holt was on the north side of Water Street between Union and Olive Streets, and contained about two acres. Later this plot was said to have been owned by Benedict Arnold and still later by Dr. Noah Webster of dictionary fame.

The name of William Holt occurs frequently in the New Haven records. In 1648 he was assigned three acres of land to be selected within two miles of the Colony and two acres of the Oyster Shell field. In 1651 upon his petition, the Court granted him twenty acres of land at Chestnut Hill.

In 1654 the widow Preston conveyed to him eight and twenty acres of land of the second division. At various times he was appointed to view fences and fix dividing lines between owners of adjacent lands.

In 1655 the names of the colonists as they were to be seated in the meeting house was read in Court, and William Holt was assigned a seat on the side near the door, but in 1661 he was moved to "the long seat next the wall."

He was not always fortunate in the references made to him, as in September 1643 the record states he was fined a shilling for being "late last training day," (if this date is correct, it is the earliest date in which his name appears as a member of the Colony). Then in 1650 he was fined twelve pence for maintaining a length of defective fence, and in 1656 he was held liable by the Court for the death of two cows. It apparently was his turn to look after the common herd and having turned them into the field and left them, two of them came to their death, in some unknown manner and it was adjudged that he was responsible.

In 1666 the records state that "William Holt appointed to take notice of the Cuftomes of Wine & Strong

Liquors according to Law". What his duties were in this connection is not stated.

In 1670 he was a witness in a slander suit and stated his age at fifty-eight, which would indicate he was born in 1612. We thus have 1610, 1612 and 1616 given as the various dates of his birth.

In July 1646 one Pawquash, an Indian? was charged in court with leaving open the gate of the oyster-shell field and also with blasphemy, which it is stated had been committed about four years previously, and to which William Holt among others was a witness. While this statement of course is not very accurate, it would seem to indicate that William Holt had been in New Haven in 1642. This statement is confirmed by the fact that he was fined in September 1643 and it would seem therefore, as though it were fairly safe to assume 1642 as the date of his arrival in New Haven.

In 1659, William Holt complained to the Court of one Samuel Marsh; that his boy was waiting at the mill to have his corn ground, and when his turn had come and he had put some of his corn in the hopper, Samuel Marsh threw out his corn and his bag and kicked him down stairs and proceeded to have his own corn ground. Samuel Marsh professed to the Court that he was sorry and ashamed for what he had done, but thought it was his turn and that "the miller who sate by the fire said nothing", so that he was confirmed in his opinion and that nothing further having been heard of the matter, and Sister Holt whom he saw on the following Sabbath saying nothing, he had assumed it was all right, but that he was now advised that he had been wrong and he was ashamed of his action. The Governor in view of his confession and repentance, accepted his regrets and fined him ten shillings for breaking the peace and five shillings to be paid to William Holt for damages. The boy who was kicked downstairs was Nathaniel Holt.

Durrie states in his genealogy that William was prob-

ably married in England. If he were the passenger on the Truelove from London to Bermuda in 1635, it is quite certain that he was not married, both because of his age (stated to be nineteen years) and also because his wife's name is not given in the list of passengers. All that we know of his wife is that her name was Sarah, and that she is said to have survived her husband and married a second time. As John, their eldest son was born in 1645 and as William did not die until 1683, she must have been over sixty years of age at the time of her second marriage, which indicates not only a vigorous constitution but a sanguine disposition. She is also mentioned in the New Haven records. She had a seat officially assigned to her in the meeting house, and at another time appears as the witness to the Will of a descendant. She died in 1717.

In 1651 at a Court held at New Haven, Goodwife Holt complained of one 'Ositon a Connecticote Indian' that he had come to her house when only her boy was there, went into an inner room and stole a pair of stockings which had cost her five shillings. The Indian denied it but afterward confessed to 'Serjant Jeffrey' and also confessed the theft in Court. The Governor in view of his confession freed him from corporal punishment and ordered him to pay Goodwife Holt five shillings (she having had her stockings again), and to pay to the Marshall twelve pence for his attendance.

Durrie states that in 1675 William removed to Wallingford, a new settlement, between New Haven and Hartford, where he died September 1, 1683. He is said to have left no Will, but after his death his property was appraised and amounted to the sum of 238 Pounds, a not inconsiderable amount for those days. An exact copy of the appraisal, with the old spelling and characters faithfully followed is appended.

The records of Wallingford state that Wm. Holt came there in 1673 which does not quite agree with Durrie's

information. In June of 1673 the Wallingford records contain the following entry of business transacted at a town meeting,—“John Miles nott possessing his Lott, the sale of itt was Granted to William Houlte with the pasture (pasture) belonging to itt and the River Lott belonging to the sayed John Miles which was the first Lott beginning at the Bleu (Blue) Hill end.” The only other entry in the Wallingford records occurs in 1683 to the effect that “William Houlte died aged 73”. In the old Colonial Cemetery at Wallingford, the oldest stone there is a rough slab of field stone inscribed as follows,—

1683
W. H.
73

It is the opinion of the Historical Society of Wallingford that this is undoubtedly the gravestone of William Holt; and if this is true, it is probably the oldest existing gravestone of a Holt in America.

A hill near Wallingford was for a long time known as “Holt’s Hill”. Possibly this is the Blue Hill mentioned in the preceding extract.

While the name of William Holt does not frequently appear in the Wallingford records, possibly because of his age at the time he moved there, the names of his sons Eleazar, Joseph and Benjamin appear frequently.

It would not appear from these records that William Holt was one of the leaders of the early New Haven Colony and he does not appear to have held any prominent offices. At the same time, it is rather clear that he was one of its substantial citizens and did his full share in the necessary work of founding the Colony and establishing its institutions.

William and Sarah Holt had seven children,—John, Nathaniel, Mercy, Eleazar, Thomas, Joseph and Benjamin.

(Sources: Holt Family in the United States, Durrie.
 List of Emigrants to America, Hotten.
 New Haven Colonial Records, Hoadley.
 History of New Haven, Atwater.
 New Haven Historical Society, Ancient Record
 Series.
 New Haven Colony Historical Society—Papers.
 History of Wallingford, Davis.)

New Haven County Court Records, vol. 1, p. 141.
 November 21th, 1683:

An Inventory of the estate of W^m. Holt late of Wallingford deceased intestate Exhibited & approved for record./ And Administration to the estate is graunted unto Sarah Holt Widdow & relict of the sd deceased./ There being severall of the children expressing their desires to leave the dispose of the estate unto their mother, but not all consenting, The court referred the settlem^t, of y^e sd estate unto the next session, and advised the children to see if they could come to an agreem^t in the meane time./

Vol. 1, p. 143. December 6th, 1683:

The children of W^m Holt late of Wallingford deceased intestate, exhibited a writeing under all their hands (except Nathan² for whom Joseph ingaged) wherein they doe declare, That they do leave the distribution of the estate of their late father, to their loveing mother, to dispose of according to her pleasure; The court considering, approved of y^e same./

New Haven Probate Records, vol. 1, part 2, p. 110.

W^m Holt/ An Inventory of the estate of W^m Holt of Wallingford lately deceased is as followeth./

	lb	s	d
Impr. House & barne & 6 acres of homelott 80 ^{lb} / 2 oxen			
11 ^{lb} / 4 cowes 14 ^{lb} / 1 mare 2 ^{lb} 10 ^s	107	10	00
It: 3 yearelings 5 ^{lb} / 9 sheepe 4 ^{lb} 10 ^s / 5 swine 4 ^{lb} / A river			
lott 20 ^{lb} /	33	10	00
It: 2 acres joining to y ^e homelott 2 ^{lb} 10 ^s / 2 acres of im-			
proved land in y ^e gen ^{ll} : field 2 ^{lb}	04	10	00



The Stone Marking the Grave of William Holt.



Picture taken by Mrs. Fred B. Holt, New Haven, Conn.



Drawn and furnished by Lydia B. S. Hall, "The Stone House," Wallingford, Conn.

It: division land 18 ^{lb} / broken up leased land 5 ^{lb} / 6 acres of winter corne 3 ^{lb}	26:00:00
It: corne in y ^e barne 12 ^{lb} 14 ^s hay 6 lb/ indyan corne 8 ^{lb} flaxe 1 ^{lb}	27:14:00
It: His weareing clothes 2 ^{lb} 19 ^s / pillow beers, table clothes, napkins 6 ^{lb} 6 ^s	09:05:00
It: Bed & bedding 6 ^{lb} 17 ^s / a carpett & cushions 8 ^s / A winscott chest 1 ^{lb} / a cubbard & bord chest 5 ^s	08:10:00
It: part of a hatchell 2 ^s / 2 brasse kettles & a skillet 2 ^{lb} 10 ^s / iron pott, kettle & skillet 1 ^{lb}	03:12:00
It: pewter 18 ^s / candlesticks, spoons, tinware 4 ^s / 2 smoothing irons 2 ^s 6 ^d / meat bar ^{ll} : & tubs 9 ^s	01:13:06
It: a tramell, sive, a tunill 2 riddles 3 ^s / pumpkins & turnups 5 ^s / meale 6 ^s	00:14:00
It: A beare barr ^{ll} , a can & cheesatt 3 ^s 6 ^d / 3 paylse & a tub 4 ^s / muskett & cutlash 2 ^{lb}	02:12:06
It: 2 spinning wheels 5 ^s a warming pan 2 ^s 6 ^d / frying pan 2 ^s 6 ^d & a pott 2 ^s 6 ^d	00:12:06
It: drinking pott 1 ^s 6 ^d / woollen & linnen yarne 2 ^{lb} 5 ^s / wooll & toe yarne 14 ^s 9 ^d	03:01:03
It: A bible & other books 12 ^s / 3 bags 7 ^s 6 ^d / salt 3 ^s Malt 6 ^s / hops 3 ^s a tub 1 ^s	01:12:06
It: ffire slice, pothooks & tongs 7 ^s / pothanger & flesh forke 3 ^s 6 ^d / old sithes 4 ^s	00:14:06
It: hoes & an axe 5 ^s / handsaws, augers & a hamer 5 ^s / old iron 5 ^s / scales & saddletree 3 ^s	00:18:00
It: sickles, hooks & a branding iron 3 ^s 6 ^d / plow & irons 8 ^s / wheels & irons 12 ^s	01:03:06
It: yoake 3 ^s horse gears 9 ^s forke 1 ^s / table 3 ^s / 5 chayrs 9 ^s toe 2 ^s / baskets 1 ^s	01:08:00
It: sizzers & other small things 3 ^s 6 ^d / a plow chayne & other irons 1 ^{lb} / 2 bedsteads & other things 2 ^{lb} 6 ^s	03:09:06
	<hr/> 238:10:09

lb s d

The estate Cr—02:04:01

The estate Dr—31:07:01

Apprisors Abraha Dowlittell
Eleazer Pecke

CHAPTER III.

JOHN², THE SON OF WILLIAM¹

JOHN², the oldest son of William¹ and Sarah Holt, was born at New Haven in 1645 and died in East Haven in June 1733. Fully one half his life and interest was centered in New Haven. He and his brother retained the home lot when their father moved to Wallingford about 1675. Later John² came into sole possession of this property by purchase from Nathaniel², who was a resident of New London. In 1721 John² sold the home lot to Moses Mansfield and in the deed he signed himself as a mariner.

The early records of the town long before the settlers named it New Haven abound in allusions to the maritime interest which seemed to have had a beginning as early as 1636, when Governor Winthrop's bark, "Blessing of the Bay", was at Hartford. This boat frequently passed through Long Island Sound to and from New Netherlands.

On March 30, 1638, a portion of the New Haven colony, including Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport, sailed from Boston for Quinnipiac and reached the place about the middle of the following month. Unfortunately the name of the vessel which brought them is not recorded, but a strong friendship existed between Governor Eaton and Governor Winthrop, and it is thought possible that "Blessing of the Bay", being a Sound trader, was placed at the disposal of Governor Eaton and his companions and brought them to New Haven. In 1640 the General Court decided to give the settlement of Quinnipiac a new name, and the old record reads, "this town now called New Haven".

Trading houses were set up on lands which they pur-

chased at Delaware Bay for the sake of beaver and trade in furs from the Indians, who followed annually the Susquehanna and Delaware Rivers from their source to the ocean. The number of petitions laid before the New Haven Court regarding laws and regulations of the commerce of the town is a striking manifestation of the commercial interest.

“In 1644 Richard Malbon, John Evance, and George Lamberton came to informe the Courte that having seriously considered the damages which the towne doth in many ways suffer from the flattes which hinder vessels from coming near the towne, they will undertake (upon conditions named) to build a Wharfe to which at least Botes may come to discharge their cargoes.”

The wharf they were authorized to build stood on the land belonging to William Preston on the present site of the City Market.

Vessels were sent to England, the Barbadoes, the Azores, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Netherlands, Delaware Bay, Virginia and the Bermudas.

From the settlement of the Colony to 1656, New Haven was not successful in her maritime interests. In 1642 Mr. Richard Malbon bought a horse for a friend in Barbadoes and engaged with the owner of a New Haven vessel to transport the horse, but when the animal reached the ship, the boat was found not large enough to accommodate the horse. It is stated that in 1740 the whole navigation of New Haven consisted of two coasters and one West India vessel. Commerce revived in New Haven previous to the Revolutionary War, was then destroyed by the Revolution but again revived, and some commercial interests were carried on with the Barbadoes.

Although the deed conveying his New Haven property to Moses Mansfield was signed by John² Holt Mariner, no record of his name has been found in the maritime history of New Haven.

As has been said, John² Holt's early life was connected with New Haven.

In 1638, Mr. Davenport and others made their first purchase of land in an open, fair and Christian spirit with Momauguin and his sister Shaumpishuh—called in the agreement, Squaw Sachem—and she and others came to live with Momauguin in East Haven. For many years the Indians had their reservation at East Haven. Besides agreeing to protect the Indians from unreasonable assault from other tribes, and to give them lands to plant in summer and the privilege to fish between Quinnipiac harbor and Saybrook fort, which was at the mouth of the Connecticut river, they also covenanted to give them 12 coats of English cloth, 12 alchemy spoons, 12 hatchets, 12 hoes, 2 dozen knives, 12 porringers, and 4 cases of French knives and scissors. This treaty was signed and legally executed by Momauguin and his council on his part and by Theophilus Eaton and Rev. John Davenport on the part of the English. Thomas Stanton was the interpreter. In December, 1638, another large tract of 10 miles long and 13 miles wide was bought to the north of the first purchase from other Indians, for which they gave 13 coats and granted these Indians the same privileges as had been given to the Quinnipiacs.

These purchases included all the lands of the ancient limits of New Haven, Branford, and Wallingford, from which the towns of East Haven, North Branford, North Haven, Woodbridge, with a part of Orange have been made.

The first division of land made within the town of East Haven was in 1644, when Thomas Gregson was granted 133 acres in that section. East Haven was for many years a part of New Haven, and the men, women and children attended church services there. They had a long journey through the woodlands to the ferry at Red Rock, then across the ferry and another mile to the church on the New Haven green. The ferriage charges

were as follows: For a man and horse, sixpence; if the horse swam over, threepence; and later they were reduced so that a footman was charged only twopence.

There is a break in the village records from 1685 to 1705, but in 1706 Jacob Hemingway, son of Samuel, who was a Yale graduate, became pastor and continued for five years. In his agreement to preach he stipulated, "50 lbs. yearly and my wood, that you build me a convenient dwelling house within two years, or give me money sufficient to do the same, one half this year and one half the next. That when it is in your power, you give me a good and sufficient portion of land."

In the English church there were three grades of ministers; vicar, rector, curate. In New England the pastor and teacher distinction was theoretical rather than of any practical importance. Both were in the highest sense ministers of the Gospel. As pastor, he exhorted, administered wisdom; as teacher, he attended to doctrine, administered knowledge.

Some of the public men could only make their mark at the bottom of instruments of record. Experience taught them the necessity of paying more attention to the education of their children: so a committee decided to have a school and agreed to have Mr. Hemingway take charge.

The school hours were from 9 to 12 and 1 to 4. School opened with prayer, reading of New Testament round and round the room, two verses apiece by all who could read words of five letters, reading, writing, ciphering, with some grammar for the most advanced. The teacher wrote out the copies in the writing books and made pens from goose quills brought by the scholars. All working days were school days. Saturday afternoons were devoted to learning, reciting Congregational Catechism, and preparation for Sunday.

For fifty years Mr. Hemingway was pastor of the East Haven church.

We do not know when John² Holt, son of William¹, settled in East Haven; but as has been said he spent more than half his life in New Haven.

In January 1673 John² Holt married Elizabeth Thomas in New Haven. She was the daughter of John and Tabitha Thomas and was born in New Haven March 15, 1648.

John Thomas, father of Elizabeth, was one of the prominent men of this period. He is mentioned in the seating of the meeting house. At this time the men and women were seated separately; on one side of the door was the seat of John Thomas, and in the seat on the other side sat Tabitha Thomas with the other women. It is related that in addition to being a good citizen, John Thomas paid his fines promptly. One offense noted was for neglecting his watch—fine, one shilling. Again he and several others were fined five shillings for neglecting their ladders. The lot of John Thomas adjoined that of the Beechers. John Thomas died December 15, 1671.

John² Holt died at East Haven, June 16, 1733, aged 86.

There were four children born to John² and Elizabeth (Thomas) Holt. Elizabeth³, the oldest, was born in New Haven September 28, 1674. She was married to John Potter February 23, 1692 and died December 19, 1751, aged 78.

The Potter family were prominent in the early history of the Colony. In 1639 John and William, who were brothers, signed the Plantation Covenant. John, the son of John Potter, Senior, married Hannah Cooper in 1661. This John Potter, known as Sergeant John Potter, the father of the East Haven Potters, died at East Haven, December 1707, aged seventy years.

John Cooper, the father of this Hannah Cooper, removed from New Haven to East Haven, about the time the iron works established there, of which he was an agent. He had two daughters, Hannah and Sarah.

Hannah married John Potter; and Sarah, a year later, married Samuel Hemingway; and so both were connected with the Holt family.

It was the son of John Potter, Sr. and Hannah Cooper, who married Elizabeth³ Holt.

John³, the oldest son of John² Holt and Elizabeth (Thomas) Holt, born March 23, 1679, probably died young, as we find no mention of him later.

Joseph³, the second son of John² and Elizabeth (Thomas) Holt, was born January 22, 1680, and baptized in the East Haven Congregational Church in 1756. He married Abigail Hemingway, daughter of Samuel and Sarah Cooper Hemingway, February 28, 1706. Abigail was born February 16, 1672, was baptized in 1688 in the New Haven Congregational Church, and died at East Haven February 10, 1737. Joseph married a second time, his wife being Mary, who died in 1743. His third wife was Joanna, daughter of Joseph and Sarah (Stanley) Gaylord, whom he married in 1745. She was the widow of, first, Robert Royce and, second, John Johnson.

Joseph Holt's children were by his first wife, Abigail Hemingway.

Samuel Hemingway, son of Ralph and Elizabeth (Hewes) Hemingway, and the father of Abigail (wife of Joseph Holt) was a member of the Roxbury church, and was one of the largest taxpayers and land owners in Roxbury. He was born June 1636 at Roxbury, Massachusetts. March 23, 1662 he married at New Haven, Sarah, the daughter of John Cooper. Samuel, who settled in New Haven and later moved to East Haven, was a very busy man and an influential citizen. He was owner of the Grist Mill about 1681 and twenty-five years later his sons established the Fulling Mill. He served his town in many and varied capacities; such as settling boundary questions, securing mill grants, revising village records, as town clerk performing minor duties. He was

a neat and handsome penman and was rated the third richest man in the town. He had 10 poles of land valued at 147 lbs., and he had $69\frac{1}{2}$ acres. Jacob Hemingway, the brother of Abigail, has been mentioned as pastor and teacher. In the fifth generation we find the name of Merit Heminway of Watertown, Conn.—who held to the old way of spelling the name—born in 1800. He has made the name familiar to every householder in the Union, on spools of silk. The old house where he was born is still standing on Main Street near the Branford line. One record states that Isaac Hemingway, a brother of Jacob and Abigail, was the great grandfather of President Rutherford B. Hayes.

Joseph³ Holt had 4 poles—his estate was valued at 46 lbs. 10 shillings; he had $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres. East Haven at this time had 20 poles. In May 1707 a petition was presented to the General Assembly to be a separate village; it was granted. Another half division of land was made at the rate of 5 acres on the 100 lb. estate and 1 acre on the pole, in February 1709.

Joseph³ is mentioned as a surveyor in 1739. He died May 25, 1770.

Daniel³, the youngest son of John Holt and Elizabeth (Thomas) Holt, was born March 30, 1689. No further mention is made of him.

CHAPTER IV.

NATHANIEL² HOLT, SON OF WILLIAM¹, AND HIS CHILDREN

NATHANIEL² HOLT was born at New Haven in 1647. He removed to New London in 1673 when he was twenty-six years old. Why he made this change we do not know. Neither his father nor his brothers apparently went with him. Neither do we know anything of his life before he went to New London. When his father moved from New Haven to Wallingford he conveyed his home lot at New Haven to his two eldest sons, John and Nathaniel. When the latter went to New London, he sold his share to John.

New London had been settled in 1646 and among its early settlers were three Beebe brothers. After residing for seven years in New London, Nathaniel² Holt on April 5, 1680 married Rebecca, daughter of Thomas Beebe and Millicent Addis. Thomas Beebe had previously purchased from Thomas Park the Town Lot originally granted to Jonathan Brewster and lying between Truman, Granite, Blackhall and Hempstead Streets, and containing about five acres. When Thomas Beebe died he left this property to his son, Thomas Beebe², who was a cripple and never married, and who in turn left it to his two nephews, Nathaniel and William Holt, (or as one record states, to William Holt alone). The property was long known as the Holt Homestead.

Nathaniel² Holt apparently followed the business of ship carpenter. He had the title of Sergeant, and during King Phillip's War was wounded in the shoulder in the Great Swamp fight on December 19, 1675. Three years later, the General Court awarded him the sum of five pounds, apparently as a sort of compensation. He was not among the original settlers of New London, and his

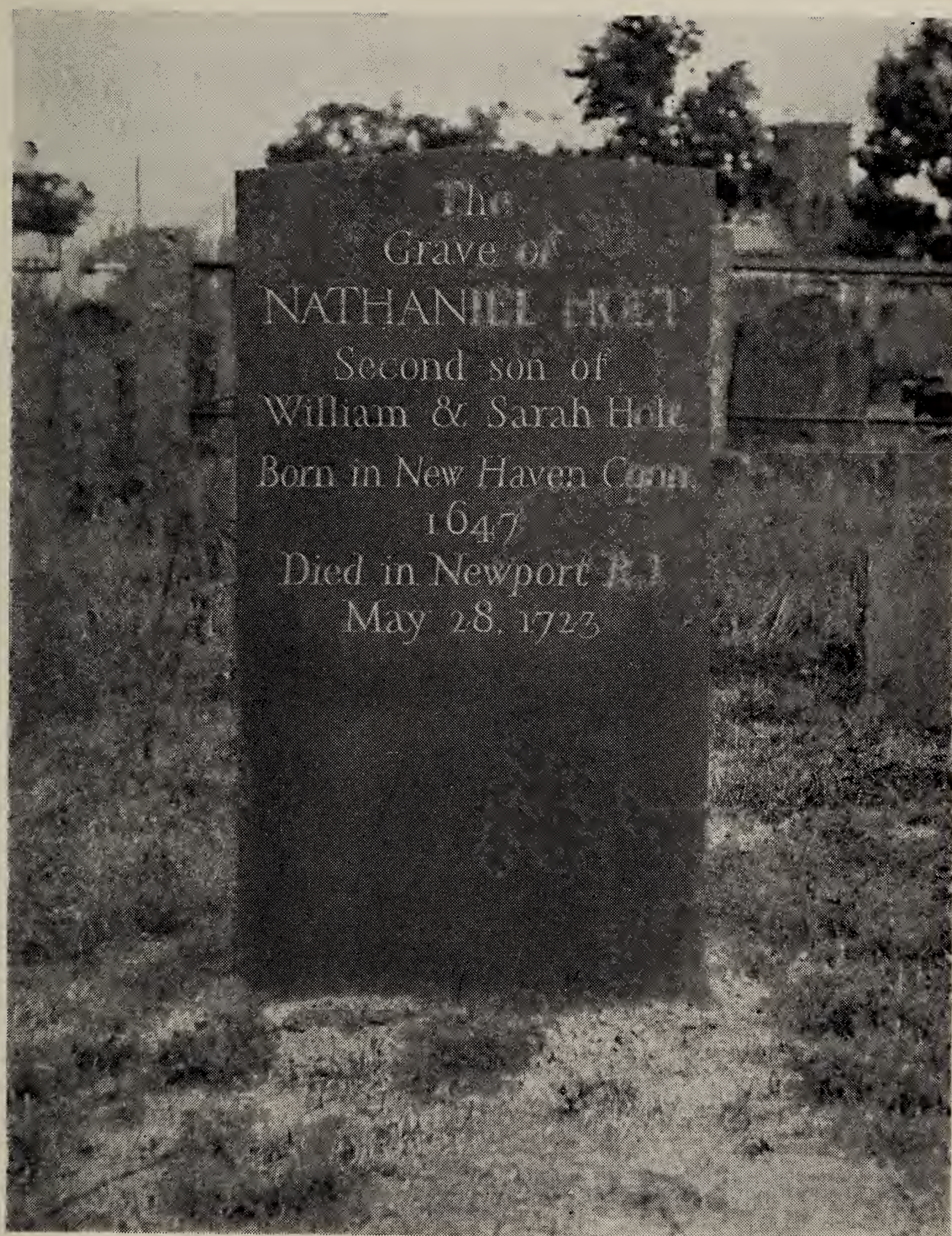
name therefore does not appear in the earliest documents, but after 1673 it is found on various records, although none of these is of any particular interest.

He and his wife Rebecca Beebe had two children, William³, born at New London July 15, 1681, and Nathaniel³, born at New London July 18, 1683. Rebecca died in 1689, and soon after her death he removed to Newport, Rhode Island. We are left without any information as to why he made this removal, and neither his son William³ nor his son Nathaniel³ went with him, although they were only six and eight years old respectively when he made the change. Neither does it appear with whom he left them, and this is the more strange as he apparently had no relatives living at New London. His father, William¹ Holt, had died six years before in 1683, and his five brothers and one sister continued to live either at New Haven or at Wallingford. It is not unlikely, however, that the two children grew up with their mother's family, the Beebes.

After his removal to Newport, he married a second time, but we have no information in regard to his wife. By her he had a third son, Benjamin³, who was born about 1691. Nathaniel² died at Newport May 28, 1723 aged seventy-six years and his tombstone was still standing with a legible inscription as late as 1926, when the Newport Historical Society reported that it had disappeared, just how they were unable to say. A new stone was erected by The Holt Association of America in 1929. There are two unimportant references to him in the records of the Town Council of Newport.

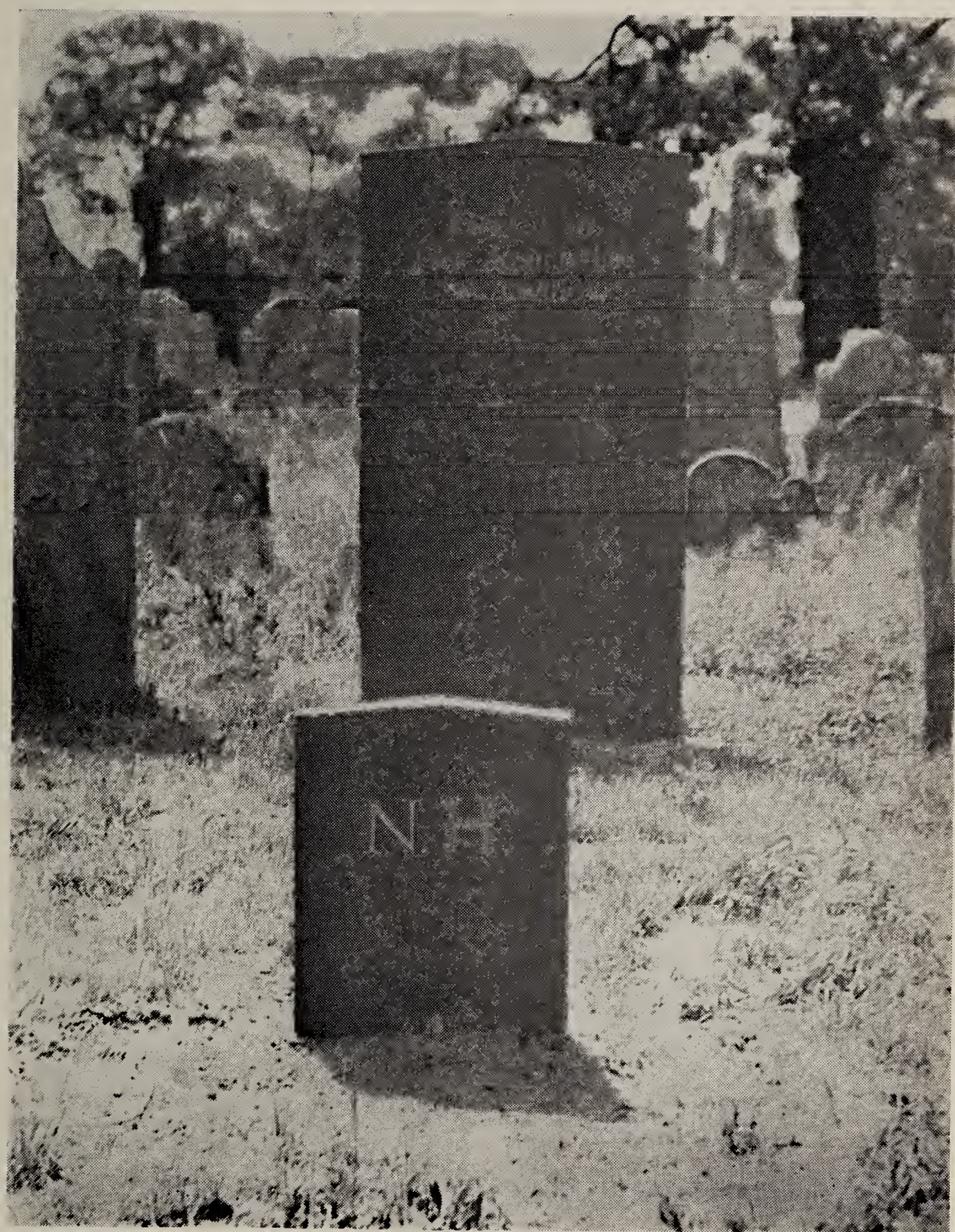
WILLIAM³ AND NATHANIEL³

The three children of Nathaniel Holt comprising the third generation of this line were: William³, born at New London July 15, 1681; Nathaniel³, born at New London July 18, 1683 (children of his wife Rebecca



NATHANIEL HOLT

(Stone erected by the Holt Association of America in 1929.)



Beebe); and Benjamin³, born at Newport about 1691, the name of his mother being unknown.

Concerning this third child Benjamin³ Holt, we have no present information. Of the two New London children, William³ and Nathaniel³, the former, who was the elder by two years, appears somewhat more prominently in such records as we have; possibly as the eldest son he assumed the leadership. Then too, it was rather more the custom in those times than it is at present to defer to the eldest of a family. Then also, if some statements are true, William³ inherited the larger part of the Beebe property and this may have given him additional prominence in the community.

In 1713 William³ married Katharine, the daughter of John Butler, by whom he had twelve children. William³ died at New London on October 6, 1766, and his widow survived him for about nine years.

Nathaniel³ married Phebe Tomlin December 20, 1706. Nothing very definite is known about her. Nathaniel³ died March 19, 1751; his wife died some twelve years earlier. They had four children, all of whom reached maturity, although one of them, Elizabeth⁴, attained only the age of twenty-two.

Thomas Beebe, the grandfather of William and Nathaniel, usually known as Sergeant Beebe, died in 1699, leaving his property to his children and grandchildren. He left three daughters and one son, Thomas, who was more or less of a cripple. William³ Holt lived in the Beebe house with his deformed uncle, and next door his brother Nathaniel³ built a dwelling upon land which he had apparently inherited from his grandfather Beebe.

When Thomas Beebe, the son, came to die he left all of his land to his sister's son William who apparently was his favorite relative and with whom he had lived and died. This inheritance gave William more land than his brother Nathaniel, and this was further increased when

he bought out the interests of Sergeant Beebe's daughters, thus putting the two Holts into possession of all the lands of their grandfather Beebe.

The Beebe land lay between Blackhall and Hempstead Streets and fronted on Truman Street. It is sometimes described as lying southwest of the plot assigned to Robert Hempstead, whose grandson Joshua Hempstead afterward became quite prominent in the colony, and left a diary which is frequently quoted, and in which he noted many matters of private and public character which occurred between the years 1711 and 1758. In his diary he makes frequent mention of William³ and Nathaniel³ Holt, of their marriages, of the births and deaths of their children, and of work in which he was jointly engaged with them. Apparently both William³ and Nathaniel³ were land holders and responsible members of the community, as the diary contains many references to fences and boundaries between their lands and others; as, for instance, under date of April 23, 1718, he says: "Helped Natl. Holt make stone wall between ye orchard and ye lot from the rocks", and in another place under date of March 2, 1719 "William Holt and I layed out the half acre I bought of Natl. Holt at ye upper end of Smith's lot." On March 24, 1736 he wrote "I went to see Natl. Holt who is very sick and in great pain with the gout."

It was said of William Holt that for forty years there was not a funeral at New London that he did not attend,—in what capacity is not stated, but apparently for the purpose of rendering voluntary assistance. He was also under the necessity of attending many funerals in his own immediate family, as of his twelve children, only four survived. His tombstone is yet standing in the graveyard at New London, and the inscription is entirely legible.

The two brothers apparently took no very active part in politics, probably giving their time and attention to their families and their business. They apparently man-

aged to keep out of debt at a time when the sheriff was kept busy collecting overdue accounts in lieu of which the delinquents were promptly put in jail. It is noted that church meetings were frequently held at the house of William³ and the deeds and wills of the brothers show that they were associated with many of the best families of the town. William³ Holt once gave Lieutenant Walter Butler a good drubbing and the next Sunday made public acknowledgment in church of his encounter.

Their children married into respectable families, and so far as known were hard working and industrious. Ebenezer⁴, the son of William³, seems to have been rather more prominent than some of the others and was deputy collector of customs at the time of the Revolution. He was a sturdy patriot and held various town offices and, because of his ownership of the land, a part of the city was sometimes called Holt's Hill.

The records of these early days are necessarily scanty, and lacking detailed information we must seize upon many insignificant details as indication of general habits and characters. Reviewing what we can learn of the three generations mentioned in this paper, we can say that it seems to indicate that the members of the family thus described were sturdy, industrious and honest members of the community and the kind upon which all lasting political structures must be built. None of them shines as a genius and there were no intellectual leaders among them, but they were apparently just ordinary dependable members of their community. In those testing times to say as much as this is to say a good deal, and if we cannot point to any one of them with overwhelming pride, at least there is none of them for whom we need feel shame.



The Holt-Beebe House in New London, (1928). Built by Sergeant Thomas Beebe sometime prior to 1680. Conveyed to William Holt by his Uncle Thomas Beebe, son of above, early in 1700.

CHAPTER V.

MERCY², DAUGHTER OF WILLIAM¹

MERCY², the only daughter of William Holt, was born at New Haven in 1649. Her education, as was usual at the time, was of the elementary character, and was supplemented by careful home training in such activities as cooking, housekeeping, sewing, and spinning.

November 9, 1680, Mercy² married Abraham Doolittle in New Haven. From this marriage came four children: John³, born August 13, 1681; Abraham³, born March 27, 1684; Sarah³, born February 5, 1686; and Susannah³, born April 15, 1688. Mercy died at Wallingford in 1688, and was probably buried in the graveyard at Wallingford where her father, William Holt, had been interred five years before.

In tracing the family into which Mercy² Holt married one is led in fancy to patriarchal times, for the name Abraham is given as the progenitor of all who bear the name of Doolittle in this country.

Abraham and his brother John were in Massachusetts at an early date. John died childless at Salem, Massachusetts.

Abraham Doolittle moved to New Haven before 1642, and owned a house there. In 1644 he took the freeman's oath and was made sheriff of the county. He was seven times a deputy from New Haven to the General Assembly at Hartford. In 1670 the town of Wallingford was settled. It is described as situated in "the New Haven Plain", between the Mill River and the East River northward above the Blue Hills. About one hundred persons made the first settlement at Wallingford, among them Abraham Doolittle and his second wife, Abigail Moss, his four children by his first wife, Joan Allen, whom he had married in England, and a small brood by

his second wife Abigail. Abraham Doolittle was one of a committee of three to look after the welfare of the new town. He was also sergeant of the first trainband. Sergeant Abraham Doolittle died August 11, 1690, and was buried in the graveyard not far from the spot where the body of William Holt lies.

Abraham Doolittle Jr., the oldest son of Abraham Doolittle and Joan Allen, was born at New Haven February 12, 1649. He was baptized by the Reverend John Davenport and reared under his teaching. He attended Grammar School and answered well the questions about the catechism on Saturday and the many questions about the Sunday sermon on Monday. He was less than twenty when the family removed to Wallingford. It must have been lonely for the youths bred in Wallingford, as there was no store or place of entertainment nearer than New Haven. Although young, Abraham Junior was elected constable and was called "a worthy son of a worthy sire."

Abraham Doolittle Jr. married for his second wife Ruth Lathrop of New London. There were no children of this union and she did not long survive her wedding day. His third wife was Elizabeth Thorp, by whom he had six children.

Whether the results of Abraham's much-married state was the cause of the following order of the General Court in October, 1710 is a matter of conjecture. The order was as follows: Upon the consideration of the great affliction and trouble of Abraham Doolittle of Wallingford, in the weakness and infirmity of his children, "This Assembly do relieve and exempt him—the said Doolittle—from paying any county rates for the future."

Abraham died in Wallingford, November 10, 1732 at the age of eighty-three years.

Elizabeth, the third wife and the widow of Sergeant Abraham Jr., died at Wallingford, August 29, 1736. In her will she mentions her own children, but no mention is made of the children of Mercy Holt.

But we are interested only in the children of Abraham Doolittle by his first wife. Their education was gained largely from tales told by the grandfathers of emigration, colonization, and early pioneer life; stories of wild animals carrying off the stock, interesting glimpses of house building, hunting and happy home life. At the end of the day the children all took to their snug beds in the cold upper rooms, where frequently they watched the stars through crevices in the rafters. They were used to but little furniture, which was rude and of oak or pine. Each room had a bed, and a chest of drawers occupied the parlor. They told the time of dinner by the sundial, and ate from pewter and wooden dishes; if they had china, it was kept for special occasions.

Did the two motherless daughters of Mercy² (Holt) Doolittle refuse to thrive under these conditions? There is no mention of them in the records of Wallingford, New Haven, or the adjoining towns after the birth record. The two sons, however, grew up and left a numerous progeny.

John³, the oldest son, married at Wallingford, February 28, 1705, Mary, the daughter of William and Mary (Tuttle) Frederick.

William Frederick, the father of Mary, had three wives, the first being Mary, the daughter of Jonathan and Rebecca (Bell) Tuttle. William Frederick resided first at New Haven, then at Wallingford, later at Woodbury. The date of his death is unrecorded.

Mary Frederick, John³ Doolittle's wife, was born at New Haven, July 22, 1685. John³ was a farmer. He and his wife settled on the west side of the river, in Wallingford, remote from town. In 1715, his name appears on a petition to have the school district of the town extended for the benefit of his children and those of his neighbors, thus showing that he desired the benefits for others which had been denied him at an early age through force of circumstances.

The chief event in Wallingford during the married life of John³ and Mary was the building of the new meeting-house. A short time after their marriage, Mr. Street, who had been forty years their pastor, died and Mr. Whittlesey, a Harvard graduate, was chosen as his successor. The town built a new meeting-house; it was three stories high, with two tiers of galleries, and with a belfry, surmounted by a brass rooster. The top gallery was so high that an order was given that no boys under eighteen should sit there.

John³ Doolittle died at Wallingford December, 1746. Brief notices often carry strange suggestions. Of the eleven children of John Doolittle and Mary (Frederick) Doolittle, three died before 1735, three died in the fall of 1746, less than three months before their father, and one survived his father by less than a year. His widow was appointed administratrix of his estate and guardian of a minor daughter Patience⁴.

Abraham³ Doolittle, the only brother of John³, married August 10, 1710, Mary, daughter of Ebenezer and Elizabeth (Merriman) Lewis, who was born in 1689.

Ebenezer Lewis was a blacksmith, and one of the earlier settlers of Wallingford. He married December 2, 1685, Elizabeth Merriman, the daughter of Captain Nathaniel Merriman, (wife's name Joan—maiden name not given), one of the original settlers. Elizabeth Merriman was born at New Haven, September 14, 1669, and died at Wallingford February 2, 1749, aged 81 years. Her husband, Ebenezer, died at Wallingford in 1709, a year before the marriage of his daughter, Mary, to Abraham Doolittle.

Abraham³ and Mary Doolittle settled in what was known as Cheshire Parish, north of the village, and were among the earliest inhabitants there.

Mary died in August, 1749. Soon after her death, Abraham³ married Sarah ———, maiden name unknown, who was born in 1714, and died August 5, 1801.

She was much younger than Abraham, who died November 10, 1772, aged eighty-eight years. This explains the fact that after the death of her first husband she kept right on marrying until she married her fourth husband, who apparently survived her.

Of the twelve children of Abraham Doolittle, nine were by his first wife, Mary Lewis.

The Doolittle name continued to make history on through the years. The name of Joseph Doolittle was connected with a grist mill owned by him, which was built on the west bank of the Quinnipiac River within the limits of New Haven parish just south of Wallingford.

David Doolittle was the first white child in Delaware County, called by the Indians Onaquaga. The Delaware County children went bare foot in winter. One boy was fourteen when he had his first pair of shoes. Children journeying to school took a heated slab of hard wood, which they carried in their arms and ran through the snow till their feet were very cold, then they stood on the slab until their feet warmed a bit when up came the slab and on they would go. The return trip was made in the same manner.

From available accounts the name Doolittle seems to be a misnomer. The perseverance, fortitude, and privations which they stood, their desire to improve conditions both secular and religious, and the hardy stock of followers, mark them as a race of "Go-getters."

CHAPTER VI.

ELEAZAR² HOLT, SON OF WILLIAM¹, AND HIS CHILDREN

NEW HAVEN, and the name is full of meaning, was only a quadrangle bounded by what are now known as George, State, Grove and York Streets, when Eleazar Holt, the fourth child and third son of William and Sarah, was born there, April 5, 1651. At that time Oliver Cromwell was still Lord Protector of England; Theophilus Eaton was governor of the New Haven Colony; Reverend John Davenport was the pastor of the Congregational Church, then the only church in New Haven; and William Hooke, who had been a chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, was the teacher of the church.

In order to see New Haven as it was when Eleazar was a child, the greater part of the present city must be converted into a primeval forest with giant trees climbing three hundred and sixty feet to the summit of East Rock in one direction and four hundred feet to the summit of West Rock in the opposite direction, while the Quinnipiac and West Rivers flowed between wooded banks.

But the center of the town and of interest was the village green. The most conspicuous object in the Green was the meeting-house where Reverend John Davenport preached and labored. It was of wood, fifty feet square, its roof a truncated pyramid, surmounted by a tower and turret, with bannisters and rails on the meeting-house top.

Near the church was the graveyard whose headstones now lean against the walls of the Grove Street Cemetery. The market-place occupied a large section of the Green. Near it, so that all could see, stood the stocks, the pillory, and the whipping-post, and the jail also had an honored place there.

In 1656, Eleazar² was baptized by the Reverend John Davenport. And this little boy sat in one of the rear seats reserved for children, near those occupied by the soldiers. He saw at his left the men sitting together; among them, his father, William Holt; John Thomas, Samuel Whitehead, Roger Alling, Abraham Doolittle, William Basset, George Pardee, while at his right sat their wives in the seats reserved for the women. These fathers and mothers are important in Holt history, for they had children and grandchildren who married the children and grandchildren of Nicholas Holt.

New Haven did not neglect the education of its children. Ezekiel Cheever, who lived at the corner of Grove and Church Streets, established a school in his own home. His yearly stipend was twenty pounds, which as early as 1644, was increased to thirty. But about the time that Eleazar² was born, Cheever had some disagreement with the town authorities and removed to Massachusetts. But for sixty years, he was one of the noted teachers of the youth of New England. In 1653, when Eleazar² was two years old, Mr. Bowers, a schoolmaster of Plymouth, came to New Haven to teach school. He was allowed twenty pounds a year, and "pay for his diet and chamber." He complained, however, that his school was so crowded with children who wanted to learn to read and write that he had no time to teach Latin, for which the school was designed. The authorities told him to send the children home. But his next complaint was that he had so few children, and they were so irregular in their attendance, that he felt his services were useless.

Later, about 1660, the town of New Haven passed a compulsory educational law. It decreed that all children and apprentices should be able to read the Scriptures and other good and profitable books in the English tongue, and in some competent measure to understand the main grounds and principles of the Christian religion necessary to salvation, and to give a due answer to such plain and

ordinary questions that may by the said deputies be put to them. And any parent or master who continues to be negligent should be fined ten shillings.

The children attended school every day excepting Sunday, a day of great solemnity. The Lord's day began at sunset on Saturday. The house had been put in order and foods prepared for the morrow. On Sunday, since there were few clocks, the drummers sounded the drums to gather the people to church. Sunday was a long day, but it came to an end at sunset, when the children resumed their games and neighbors entertained each other in social intercourse.

The great event during the childhood of Eleazar was the arrival of the regicides, Generals Whalley and Goffe, and Colonel Dixwell, officers in Cromwell's army and members of the High Court that condemned King Charles to death. There were fifty-nine names to the death warrant, Whalley's being the fourth. What a quiver of excitement must have run through the town of New Haven when the officers of King Charles the Second came to arrest them in their retreat in a cave on West Rock in New Haven! But as usual the colonists profited by the blunders of England. The letter ordering their arrest was directed to the Governor of New England. No governor of a colony would assume the right to be addressed by such a title. So the king's commissioners had a futile journey and the people sighed in relief when they finally took their departure.

November 5, 1674, Eleazar² Holt married Tabitha, the daughter of John and Tabitha Thomas. Tabitha was born December 18, 1653, and so was five years younger than her sister Elizabeth, who had married John², Eleazar's eldest brother, the previous year.

Later, Eleazar² purchased in New Haven the house and lot formerly belonging to John Thomas, his father-in-law. This was on the opposite side of the town from his father's home lot. It had its front on what is now

called Morocco Street and on that section of the street which lies between Cayuga Avenue on the south and Davenport Avenue on the north. His house was at the top of the bank and not at the foot where the present houses are built. His lot contained one and one-half acres, and was bounded eastward by the highway or creek; northward by the home lot of Isaac Beecher, the ancestor of Reverend Lyman Beecher; westward by the land of Henry Glover; and southward by the land of his mother-in-law, Tabitha Thomas.

In 1680, a third division was made of the common lands, those on the western side of the town. The division was based upon the size of the family and the property already owned. Eleazar² Holt is credited with four polls or heads, an estate of eleven acres, and is given of this new allotment twenty acres.

A part of William¹ Holt's family had moved to Wallingford; one son to East Haven and one to New London. But Eleazar² lived his life at New Haven.

After his father's death at Wallingford in 1683, Eleazar² signed a paper with the other children, leaving the disposal of their father's estate entirely to the disposal of their mother, Sarah Holt. Would that we could find her name, for she was evidently a woman of unusual ability! As we shall see, this ability was inherited by some of her granddaughters.

Eleazar does not seem to have been as ardent a church member as some members of the family. Although New Haven was at the beginning a church-state, and the Reverend John Davenport, their first pastor, had declared that the main object of the pioneers was "to found a plantation whose design was religion", there was much freedom of worship in the little community. Almost everybody was a congregationalist, but there were a few Baptists and Quakers, but there are few accounts of any persecutions. Of course, there was the village gossip, which pointed the finger slyly at Mrs. Theo-

philus Eaton, the governor's wife, as she sat in the front seat in the meeting house at the feet of the Reverend John Davenport, and Gossip whispered that she was a Baptist. A few Quakers were arrested and one was publicly whipped, but they were glad to avail themselves of the privilege of leaving the city, and did not, like their Boston brethren, remain for the sake of martyrdom.

After the withdrawal of the Reverend John Davenport, a native New Englander, a Harvard graduate, the Reverend James Pierrepont, became their pastor. He remained there thirty years. His house, at the corner of Elm and Temple Streets, was built by voluntary subscriptions. He was one of the most eloquent orators of his time and said to be most eminent in the gift of prayer. A historian has said of him: "His moral nature was so softly diffused over the church and people that they appeared to lose themselves in the absorbing element as dark forms seem sometimes in pleasant day to dissolve themselves in an atmosphere of light."

It was during the early days of his pastorate that Tabitha joined the church and later appeared with her little brood to have them baptized.

Upon the death of their mother, Sarah Peck, formerly Sarah Holt, Eleazar² with his older brother John² was administrator of both her estate and that of their younger brother Benjamin².

Tabitha, the wife of Eleazar Holt, died at New Haven, August 18, 1725, aged seventy-one years. She was buried in the Green, which served as a burying place for the town for one hundred and fifty years.

Eleazar² married for his second wife, Mary, the daughter of Ephraim and Mary (Powell) Sanford (or Sandford), and the widow of first Joseph Ashhurst, and second Joshua Hotchkiss. Mary was born in 1670, and so was nearly twenty-five years younger than her husband. She survived him by several years dying in 1750.

There were no children of this second marriage.

Eleazar² died at New Haven, June 24, 1736, aged eighty-five years. He also was buried in the Green.

But the town of New Haven could not preserve as a cemetery one of the most central and most beautiful spots in the City. When the present Central Church was built, a part of the old graveyard was included in its walls. The graves were levelled and most of the stones were placed in the Grove Street Cemetery, along its walls. Here unfortunately they are so covered with vines that they have to be torn away to read the inscriptions.

Leaning against the west wall of the Grove Street cemetery are these two stones. One reads:

HERE LIES Y^e BODY OF
ENSIGNE ELIEZER HOLT
DIED JUNE Y^e 24 1736
IN Y^e 80th YEAR OF
HIS AGE.

This is the reading of the one beside it:

HERE
LIES THE
BODY OF TABITHA
THE WIFE OF
EN^s ELEAZAR HOLT
WHO DIED
AUGUST Y^e 18th 1725
AGED 71 YEARS

Eleazar and Tabitha had a large family of children but no grandchildren bore their name of Holt.

THE CHILDREN OF ELEAZAR²

The first child born to Eleazar and Tabitha Holt was William³, born September 25, 1675. He lived a little over two months and died November 28, of the same year.

The next year Thomas³ was born, November 4, 1676. He was baptized July 29, 1688 by the Reverend James Pierrepont. This was the very year that his mother was admitted into the church. So we see her this July morning not only with Thomas aged twelve, but also with four of his sisters, Sarah, Susannah, Tabitha and little Abigail not yet two; all five were baptized on this day.

The children of Eleazar Holt grew up under the pastoral care of the Reverend James Pierrepont. A tablet to his memory on the walls of the present church bears this eulogy:

"His gracious gifts of fervent piety, persuasive eloquence and winning manners were devoutly spent in the service of his Lord and Master."

Notwithstanding the piety of their pastor, a large number of the citizens of New Haven did not become members of the church. Of this number was Thomas³ Holt.

Evidently Thomas lived at home and found quite enough of female society in that of his younger sisters. He was forty-five years of age when he married Abigail Johnson of New Haven, May 9, 1722. They were married by Samuel Bishop, justice of the peace.

Abigail was born September 28, 1695, and so was nearly twenty years younger than Thomas.

She was the daughter of John Johnson and Abigail, the latter the daughter of Daniel and Abiah (Street) Sherman. Her father, John Johnson, was the son of William and Sarah Johnson, the latter the daughter of John and Jane Hall. It will be noted that all the children of Eleazar married into the oldest and best known families of New Haven.

In the settlement of Eleazar² Holt's estate, Thomas³ received the old homestead and the town lot.

Thomas³ Holt performed his military duties faith-

fully and was chosen Lieutenant of the Troop, and, in 1735, Captain.

Thomas³ Holt died March 13, 1758.

His will preserved at the State Library at Hartford enumerates very fully the property he left. His wife Abigail was the principle executor.

He left a tract of land in New Milford appraised at twenty-three shillings per acre; the entire real estate value was 14 lbs 9s. He also had meadow lands, salt meadows and oyster lands. Chairs and tables, a tankard, a drinking-glass, teapot, silver spoon, powder-horn and powder, saddles, bridles, sheets, pillow-cases, napkins, small ink horn, seven cows and a cow-bell are only a part of the articles enumerated. He had several suits of clothing, among them a red coat, red jacket and breeches. The estate was valued at 680 lbs. 18s.

His wife survived him by many years.

They were both buried in the Green. Their tombstones are now propped against the west wall of the Grove Street Cemetery.

One reads:

In
Memory of
Lieutenant
Thomas
Holt
who died MARCH
13 A. D. 1758
In His 82
Year

The use of small letters and capitals in the headstone of his relict shows her importance in the eyes of the community.

May: 9th 1737

209

Worshipful L^d

P^resuant to your order I have Led the
troop: to a Choice of officers on the 13th day
of this instant and the persons hereafter
named was by a major ~~of~~ note of the troop
~~was~~ chosen to be officers in Troop:

James Tallmadge L^t

James Tallmadge - Capt^t

Thomas Holt - L^t

Benjamin Fen Cornet

Thomas ponderson: quarter master

~~James Tallmadge~~

Test. - Thomas ponderson & Clerk.

James Tallmadge & Benjamin Fen Capt^t Thomas Holt & Ben-
jamin Fen Cornet and Thomas Ponderson Quarter Master
of the Troop in the County of New Haven and that they be
imprisoned accordingly
put in the Upper House

Consented with in y^e Lower House,
J^{es}ph^h J^{es}ph^h Russell Clerk

J^{es}ph^h J^{es}ph^h Russell

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CONNECTICUT ARCHIVES MANUSCRIPT INDEX

MILITIA, 1678-1757

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In Memory of Mrs
Abigail Holt
Relict of Mr
THOMAS HOLT
who departed this
Life March 5th 1788
in the 83^d Year
of her age

Thomas³ and Abigail had no children. From this point the story of Eleazar is continued by the history of his daughters and his son-in-law.

Sarah³ was the eldest daughter of Eleazar² and Tabitha (Thomas) Holt. She was born at New Haven, April 2, 1679. She was baptized with her brothers and sisters, July 29, 1688.

September 22, 1698, she married John Bradley of New Haven.

William Bradley was one of the early settlers of New Haven. He joined Mr. Davenport's church in 1644. In the book "Descendants of Isaac Bradley" by Leonard Abram Bradley, it is stated that there is a tradition that William Bradley of New Haven emigrated from Bingley in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and was at one time an officer in the Parliamentary Army and a friend of Oliver Cromwell. February 18, 1645, he married at Springfield, Alice, daughter of Roger Prichard. William Bradley died in 1691. His wife Alice died in 1692.

Their son Abraham, known later as Deacon Abraham, was born October 24, 1650. He married December 25, 1672, Hannah, daughter of John and Ellen (Harrison) Thompson. Hannah was born September 22, 1654 and died October 26, 1718. Abraham died October 19, 1718.

Their eldest son John, born October 12, 1674, married Sarah³ Holt, the daughter of Eleazar².

Sarah³ (Holt) Bradley died at New Haven, March

29, 1743. John survived her by four years. He died August 13, 1747, aged 73 years.

Sarah's headstone has not been preserved. John's leans against the wall of the Grove Street Cemetery and reads:

Here Lies y^e
Body of m^r
John Bradley
Who died July
y^e 1747 Aged
73 Years

Susannah³, the second daughter of Eleazar² and Tabitha (Thomas) Holt, was born at New Haven, October 21, 1681. In her seventh year she was baptized with her brothers and sisters.

February 5, 1707-8 she was married to Roger Alling by Jeremiah Osborn, justice.

Roger Alling, the grandfather of this Roger, was baptized December 6, 1612, at Kempton, Bedford, England. He was the son of James Alling of Kempton, and a brother to Joanna, the wife of Abraham Doolittle. He was one of the early settlers of New Haven. He was treasurer of the Colony, and at one time one of the Deacons of the church. That he was a man of good education is attested by the fact that when the Hopkins Grammar School was established, he was appointed by John Davenport one of the trustees. He married about 1642, Mary, the daughter of Thomas and Margery (Baker) Nash. Roger died at New Haven September 27, 1674. His wife Mary died, August 16, 1683.

Their son Samuel was baptized November 4, 1645. He married October 24, 1667, Elizabeth, daughter of John and Elizabeth Winston. Elizabeth was born December 11, 1649, and died December 8, 1682, when Samuel married a second wife. He died August 28, 1709.

It was the fifth child of his first marriage, born July 28, 1677 who married Susannah³ Holt.

Susannah³ did not survive her wedding long. She died at New Haven, June 4, 1712. She was buried in the Green.

Her tombstone is among those preserved in the Grove Street Cemetery. It reads as follows:

SUSANNA
ALLING WHO
DIED JUNE
Ye 7: 1712
AGED 31
YEARS

Her descendants will remember that the wife of William¹ Holt was a woman of such marked ability that her children chose her to settle their father's estate. Her sense of justice and her legal acumen were inherited by her granddaughter Tabitha³, the third daughter of Eleazar² Holt.

Tabitha³ was born in New Haven, January 30, 1683, the same year that her grandfather Holt died. At the age of five she appeared at the Meeting House with her brothers and three sisters and was baptized by the Rev. James Pierrepont. Her early life was spent at the home of her father with her grandmother Tabitha Thomas as a neighbor on one side and the Beecher family, at the time unknown to fame, on the other side.

June 30, 1709, Tabitha³ married Samuel Whitehead, the son of Samuel and Sarah (Gilbert) Whitehead. This must have been a marriage pleasing to both families, but Samuel died the same year, December 5, 1709, in the 33rd year of his age. Visitors to the famous crypt of the First Church of Christ in New Haven will see a stone in memory of Samuel Whitehead, and if they are of the

Holt blood, it will be pleasant to remember that he was the bridegroom of Tabitha Holt.

Samuel Whitehead died intestate, and his widow Tabitha³ was appointed principal executor of his estate. Four years later Tabitha³ was appointed guardian of his posthumous son, Samuel Whitehead, and with others furnished bonds for the proper care of his property. This son, however, died at the age of 13. His headstone leans against the north wall of the Grove Street Cemetery. So Tabitha³ left no descendants by the name of Whitehead.

After eight years of widowhood Tabitha³ married December 2, 1718, a widower, David Atwater, whose first wife, Ruth Bradley, had died the previous year.

The grandfather of this David was born in the parish of Lenhan, County of Kent, England, about 1615. He is said to have been the first signer of the planters' agreement in New Haven and to have been present at the first meeting of public worship conducted by the Rev. John Davenport, under the famous oak. He married at New Haven, Damaris, the daughter of Thomas Sayre, who died April 7, 1691. David died October 5, 1692.

Jonathan, the sixth son of David and Damaris, was born at New Haven July 12, 1656. He married June 1, 1681, Ruth, daughter of the Rev. Jeremiah Peck, and Joanna (Ketchal) Peck. Ruth, his wife, was born April 3, 1661. Jonathan died June 3, 1776.

Jonathan was a rich merchant. His will, which covers eight pages, gives a detailed account of the furniture of a house of wealth and refinement of that period. His full estate was valued at 9303 lbs. 18s 10d. He made his wife Ruth and his two sons, David and Jeremiah, the administrators of his estate.

This son David, the husband of Tabitha³ Holt, was born at New Haven, August 5, 1683. His home, over which Tabitha³ presided, was situated in what was then called Fleet Street but now known as State Street. Every house in this street for two miles from New Haven to

North Haven was owned or occupied by a member of the Atwater family.

David did not survive his father long. He died the following year, May 1, 1727, and Tabitha was again a widow. Tabitha³ was the principal administrator of her husband's estate. The following March as principal she furnished a bond of 4000 lbs. Nearly ten years later she furnished a bond of 6000 lbs. as guardian of the minor children of David Atwater deceased. These legal documents proved the confidence reposed in Tabitha by the town of New Haven and the Whitehead and Atwater families.

Another document is equally significant. Her daughter Ruth died October 31, 1739. She made her will which contained these words:

"As for what I have of worldly goods or estate, thereof I give both real and personal, to my dearly beloved mother, Tabitha Atwood, for her comfort, to dispose when and where she pleases to all or either of my brothers of my aforesaid mother and I do nominate and appoint my aforesaid mother, Tabitha Atwood, Ex of this my last will and testament."

These two headstones stand by the west wall of the Grove Street Cemetery.

HERE LIETH THE
BODY OF Mr
DAVID ATWATER
WHO DIED MAY 1
A D 1727
AGED 43 YEARS

In Memory of
Mrs Tabitha Relict
of Mr DAVID
ATWATER WHO
Died Oct Y^e 4
A D 1743

Abigail³ Holt was little more than three years younger than her sister Tabitha. She was born in New Haven November 17, 1686, and so was less than two years of age when she was baptized by the Reverend James Pierrepont. Like her sisters, she married a grandson of one of the early settlers; she married before 1715, Enos Pardee, a grandson of George Pardee, the immigrant.

George Pardee was the son of Anthony Pardee, the curate of St. Mary Magdalene, Taunton, England. He was baptized at Pitminster, Somersetshire, England, February 19, 1623-24. He is first mentioned in connection with New Haven when in 1644 it was ordered that he should dwell with Francis Broone, as his apprentice for the term of five years, during which time said Francis was "to do his endeavor to teach him the trade of a tailor." Later George Pardee ran the ferry across the East River to East Haven.

His first wife was Martha Miles, who died early in the year 1662. December 29th of the same year George married a second time, Katherine Lane. Her parentage has not been found. A few months later George Pardee became rector of the Hopkins Grammar School, to teach the youths "Latin and Improve their manners." He died at New Haven April 1700.

Their youngest son, Joseph Pardee, was born at New Haven, April 27, 1664. The following order is on record:

"The townsmen are informed that according to my order of y^e Last meeting they had agreed with George Pardee for his son Joseph to ring y^e bell for y^e Towns occasions on y^e Sabbath and other meetings, as it was wont to be by y^e Drum, and allow to ring y^e bell at nine of y^e clock every night, and allowe to sweep y^e meeting house every week before y^e Sabbath and to open y^e doors and windows and to shutt them and fasten them to prevent dammage, And he is to be payd by y^e Treasurer five pounds per Annum."

January 30, 1689, Joseph Pardee married Elizabeth Yale, who was born at New Haven January 29, 1668, and died there September 19, 1702. Joseph died at West Haven after 1742.

Their second son Enos, who became the husband of Abigail³ Holt, was born at New Haven about 1691, and, as has been said, was married before 1715. He was at one time licensed to keep a tavern in "his new dwelling house for the Year Ensueing". He settled in Hamden in the Mount Carmel district, but after his wife's death he probably spent his declining years with his eldest daughter in Northford where he is buried.

The will of Abigail (Holt) Pardee was probated July, 1760. She left to her "honored and loving husband", "Enos Pardee", the use and improvement of one acre of meadow land during his natural life. To her eldest daughter she gave a double share of her estate, and to her other children, one share each. Any property that might ever come to her heirs from her brother Holt's estate was to be divided in that proportion. She appointed her son, Benjamin Pardee, and her son-in-law, Joseph Ruggers, her executors. Her husband also signed that he was knowing to the will and acquiesced in it.

In November, 1771, Benjamin Pardee exhibited his father's will but the testator had disposed of most of the property and it was not allowed. The inventory showed an estate of 134 lbs., 10s, 4d; the only real estate was four acres in Mount Carmel.

Elizabeth came between Abigail and Lydia. She died April 21, 1718. And so her story ends.

Lydia, the youngest daughter of Eleazar Holt, was born at New Haven in 1693, and baptized November fifth of that same year. She outlived all her brothers and sisters and died a little more than a month after the Declaration of American Independence.

She married February the fourth, 1724, John Bassett. William Basset, the grandfather of John, was one of

the early settlers of New Haven, having signed the covenant in 1644, at the same time as William Holt. He married November seventh, 1648, Hannah, the widow of William Ives. Her maiden name was Dickerman. William Ives lived at what is now the corner of Hill Street and Congress Avenue. When William Bassett married the widow Ives, at that time the mother of four children, the family continued to live there. A descendant has written humorously of this ancestor and the trouble he had with his gun, a trouble which most young men of that day shared. He was fined for "firing foole gunns." He was fined for coming late with it on the Lord's Day; fined later because it had defects; fined at one time because he didn't have it, and at another time because he did. This William Bassett died at New Haven August 29, 1684.

Their third son, Samuel Bassett, was born at New Haven, February 15, 1654. He married June 21, 1677, Mary, the daughter of Abraham and Mary (Cooper) Dickerman. Mary was born in 1659. Samuel Bassett died at New Haven April 8, 1716, aged sixty-two years. His widow, Mary (Dickerman) Bassett, died at New Haven, November 28, 1728, aged sixty-nine years.

Their son John, who married Lydia Holt, was born March 3, 1690. He lived only two years after his marriage to Lydia Holt. He died at New Haven, July 11, 1726, aged thirty-six years. He was buried in the Green.

His tombstone rests against the west wall of the Grove Street Cemetery. It reads:

HERE
LIETH
THE BODY OF
JOHN BASSETT
WHO DIED
JULY Ye 11th 1726
AGED 36 YEARS

John Bassett and Lydia had but one son, named James; but he is the forefather of a numerous progeny, since Lydia Holt Bassett had nine grandchildren of the Bassett line.

Sometime before 1731, Lydia (Holt) Bassett, the widow of John Bassett, married Stephen Sperry.

Richard Sperry, the great grandfather of Stephen Sperry, was in New Haven as early as 1643 as a farmer for Stephen Goodyear, a wealthy planter. When Mr. Goodyear died, he left his lands consisting of 1200 acres on what was known as "the rich plains of West Rock," to Richard Sperry. In 1661 there was but one other house between New Haven and the Hudson River. He was a protector of the Regicides, who were in hiding in what is now known as the Judges' Cave in West Rock. He sent food by his son, who carried it tied in a cloth, and left it on a stone for them. One night the judges sought refuge from wild beasts in Sperry's house. The commissioners of the King sought them there, but they were enabled to make their escape, probably by the help of Mrs. Sperry, whose given name, by the way, was Dennis.

The date of Richard Sperry's death is not known, but probably was between 1693 and 1698. His wife died in 1707, according to the books of the First Church of New Haven.

Richard Sperry, the son of this first Richard and his wife Dennis, was born at New Haven, January 20, 1652. He married December 16, 1680, Martha Mansfield, the daughter of Joseph and Frances (Potter) Mansfield, and the granddaughter of Richard and Gillian (Drake) Mansfield, who came to New Haven from Exeter, Devonshire, England. Martha, the wife of Richard Sperry, was born at New Haven, April 18, 1660. She joined the church in 1699. The date of her death is not given. Her husband, Richard Sperry, died in 1734. Their son

Stephen, the husband of Lydia Holt, was born February 15, 1698-99.

Lydia (Holt) Sperry joined the church in 1742, in the pastorate of the Reverend Joseph Noyes. Stephen's name is not recorded in Dexter's lists of church members.

Stephen Sperry died at New Haven, February 17, 1765.

Lydia outlived all her brothers and sisters. She died at New Haven, August 31, 1776, a little more than a month after the Declaration of Independence.

Their headstones lean against the north wall of the Grove Street Cemetery. They read as follows:

In
Memory of
Mr
STEPHEN SPERRY
who died Febr^y
Y^e 17th A. D. 1765
Aged 66 Years
All Living must
Return to Dust

In Memory of Mrs
Lydia, relict of Mr
Stephen Sperry
who departed this
life Augst 31 1776
in her 83^d Year

Many changes had taken place in New Haven during the lifetime of Lydia Holt Sperry. In the latter part of her life, the third meeting-house of the First Church, a brick structure, had replaced the simple wooden building where they had met for worship for nearly a hundred years. The new brick state house was another pretentious

building. There had not been many changes in the Green. The market was still held there; the stocks and the whipping post were in their places. But in later years she had seen crowds of people, for New Haven now had a population of three thousand people, gathering in angry crowds in the Green to resist the Stamp Act and other English impositions. Only the year before she died, Benedict Arnold, of a good New England family and then in high repute, mustered his company of Governor's Guards on the Green and started with forty of them for Cambridge.

In her youth the sheep grazed on the hillside and the blue flax bent to the breeze in the meadows. Every girl was taught to spin the wool and the flax and to weave their thread into cloth. The most of the people wore linen or wool, or sometimes a combination known as Linsey-woolsey. But New Haven was a rich community, and, excepting to evade the English taxes, the people were now importing material from England. The shopkeepers kept a varied assortment and the high cost of living was talked about even then. Atwater in his "History of New Haven", gives the complaint against a certain widow who was charged with extortion. She sold cloth at 20s that had cost her 12; for this she received wheat at 3s 6d per bushel and sold it at once to the baker at 5s. She gave six pennies for wampum but she demanded seven. She sold primers at 9d which cost her but 4d. She sold English mohair at 6s per yard which could be bought in England for 3s 2d. She sold thread for 12s per pound which cost only 2s 2 d in old England. She sold needles at one a penny, though in old England they were 12d or 18d per hundred.

New Haven had been from the beginning on the direct line of the mail service between Boston and New York. As early as 1673, a post-rider left New York the first Monday of each month with a sealed bag of mail for Boston. He changed horses at Hartford and was to be

back in New York with the Boston mail in time to start again the first Monday of the following month. He followed the Indian trail from lower Broadway, then the old Mohican path through Westchester, along the Sound, to New Haven, along the river to Springfield, thence to Worcester and Boston. Travellers often accompanied the post-rider. One lady, a Boston school teacher, wrote in her diary that she left Boston on Monday, Oct. 2, 1704, at three P. M. and arrived at New Haven at 2 P. M. on Saturday the sixth. She remained in New Haven until December 6th when she continued her journey and arrived in New York the ninth. Throughout the life of Lydia Holt the mail was carried by post-riders, but their number had increased and the better roads made the delivery of mail safer and speedier. In 1775, an independent postoffice was established in New York with John Holt as the first postmaster.

Only about four years before the death of Lydia was the great innovation, the true beginning of our transportation, the stage coach. This was a box-wagon mounted on springs with four seats which accommodated eleven passengers besides the driver. It had a canvas or leather-covered top and side curtains for inclement weather. The seats were without backs excepting the rear seats which had the wagon itself for support. It set out on a Monday morning via Hartford and returned by Saturday evening. The price to passengers was 4d New York money, or 3d lawful money, per mile.

The stage coach was never very popular, for during the administration of George Washington two coaches and twelve horses supplied the demand.

The greatest change that took place in the life time of Lydia Holt occurred a little more than a month before her death, so that, without the trouble of immigration laws or naturalization, she was born a subject of Great Britain, but she died a citizen of the United States.

CHAPTER VII.

THOMAS² HOLT, SON OF WILLIAM¹

THOMAS², the fifth child and fourth son of William¹, was born in New Haven July 3, 1653. He lived to be only twenty-four years of age, dying a bachelor in 1677.

His will, dated June 28, 1676, provides for the division of his property among his brothers. His total estate was valued by the appraisers after his death at 54 lbs. 0s, 5d.

CHAPTER VIII.

JOSEPH² HOLT, SON OF WILLIAM¹, AND HIS CHILDREN

INTO the home of William and Sarah Holt, in New Haven, on April 2, 1655 came their fifth son and sixth child, whom they named Joseph².

The records of the First Congregational Society of New Haven show that he, with his brothers Eleazar² and Thomas², was baptized in July of the following year in his Mother's right, by which it is inferred that William¹ Holt was not at that time a church member.

The boyhood of Joseph² was spent in New Haven until about the year 1675 when he, with his parents, removed to the outreaching settlement of Wallingford. Connecticut and New Haven colonies had united but eight years previous to this, and Wallingford became one of the first sixteen settlements in what is now the state of Connecticut. The entire population at that time numbered only about ten thousand.

At the outset the planters of Wallingford entered into the following interesting Covenant:

"We whose names are underwritten, being accepted by the Committee of New Haven for Y^e intended village as planters, desiring that y^e worship and ordinance of God may in due time be set up and encouraged among us as the main concernment of a christian people, promise and engage ourselves that we shall neither directly or indirectly do anything to hinder or obstruct any good means that shall be used by said Committee or others instructed by them to promote the premises by securing a Godly and able ministry among us to dispense the Word of God. And when such ministry or a Church of Christ shall be settled among us we engage by no means to disturb the same in their choice of a minister or other church officers, or other of their christian rights, liberties or ad-

ministrations. Nor shall we refuse or withdraw due maintenance from such minister or ministry. And furthermore we doe engage ourselves peaceably to submit to such settlement and Civil order as the said Committee shall direct among us, either by themselves or some others as a Committee by them appointed until the said village come to an orderly establishment within itself. And lastly we doe engage personally to settle upon the place by May next come twelve month if God's providence inevitably hinder not and to observe and perform all the other articles agreed upon."

Among the thirty-eight signatures appended to this Covenant were those of Joseph² Holt's older brother Eleazar² Holt, Abraham Doolittle, Thomas Curtis, Thomas Hall, Jehial Preston and Samuel Potter, with all of whose families the Holts later became allied.

In 1670, upon the incorporation of Wallingford provision was made for a "Town burying ground," known today as the Centre Street Cemetery, where the graves of a number of Holts may still be found, among them that of our original ancestor William¹, which is referred to as among the first if not the very first burial to have taken place there.

True to the spirit of the Covenant to which they had pledged themselves, we find that in 1674 a church was organized and a building started. Rev. Samuel Street, a graduate of Cambridge in 1664, who had married Anna Miles that same year, was ordained as pastor, continuing in this capacity until his death in 1717. A monument erected to his memory more than a hundred years later in 1852, bears the inscription copied from the old tombstone.

THE REVERENT MR. STREET DEPARTED:
THIS LIFE:

JEN Y^e 16 1717 AGGED: 82.

It is probable that this man officiated at the baptism,

marriage and funeral of many of the Holts of Wallingford.

The erection of the little meeting house, twenty-eight by twenty-four feet, seems to have progressed very slowly either from want of means or trouble with the Indians, for in 1681 a further tax was levied and it was voted to go on and finish the building. Great must have been the poverty of these Pioneers when, with their high estimate of the value of religious institutions, there was a delay of seven years in the completion of their first place of worship. This can only be explained by their sheer inability to follow out their intention. In 1690 an addition of sixteen feet was made to the width of this building. By this time there were seventy-five families in the town and the little congregation numbered so many children that "The Towne desired Eliazur Peck to looke to y^e boyes on y^e Sabbath that they keep good order at y^e meeting." It seems that even in those days human nature was intensely human.

In 1679 the record tells us that "The town granted to Joseph Holt, three acres of land lying on the east side of the meadow called Dogs Misery, by the southward branch of Pilgrim's Harbor, that being the name of the whole stream from its mouth up to the pond whence it flows". Some years later we find that "In February 1690 a certain tract of land known as Falls Plaine shall be cast lots for. The lotts being cast each man's lott is as followeth—Lott 42 fell to Joseph Doolittle lott 61 to Joseph Hoult and lott 10 to Benjamin Holt".

Except for the mention of this first grant of land, the mantle of silence falls upon young Joseph² until the year 1684. We may imagine however that with his Father he was busily engaged in wresting a living from the newly cleared land and in laying the foundations for his future. Sometime during these years, or possibly before he left New Haven he met Elizabeth French, nine years his junior.

The French family history has to do with the town of Derby, called by the Indians Pegasuck, later by the English Pegasset. It lay nine miles north by the old turnpike from New Haven. Here on June 20, 1664, Elizabeth French was born. At the age of ten, in 1635, Francis French came to Boston on the *Defense*, with his father and mother and three other children. His father, William French, was the first representative to the General Court from Billerica. He was also lieutenant and later Captain in King Phillip's War. His eldest son, Francis, was one of the earliest settlers of Derby, where he married Ann (Wilmot) Bunnell, whose father, William Bunnell, is listed by Hinman in his book, "Early Puritan Settlers." The History of Derby records that in 1655 ten men of Milford bought of three men of New Haven a tract of land called Pegasset and by them put under the jurisdiction of New Haven.

Probably in the spring of 1657 a division of this land was made between the ten proprietors and among them land was awarded to Francis French (or Tench), the father of Elizabeth. Many of these men had already built their rude homes but Francis French did not build his until 1661 when, on April 10th, he married Lydia Bunnell of Milford. The settlement of Pegasset (Derby) was then so small the people went to Milford to meeting until 1682 when they built their own meeting house.

One imagines the stalwart young Joseph² Holt travelling, possibly on horseback, from Wallingford to Pegasset to court the youthful Elizabeth French then in her teens. We wonder if the marriage ceremony which took place on November 20, 1684 might not have been solemnized in the little new church, with the old friends from New Haven as guests and the birds of the primeval forest as choristers.

The first child of Joseph² and Elizabeth Holt was born in New Haven and it may be they lived there a short time, but in 1687 we find them in Wallingford where they spent the following decade which brought to a close their

wedded life. Joseph's² death occurred December 19, 1697.

The record of his Will dated the month he died mentions the names of his five children living at the time—Joseph³, Daniel³, Benjamin³, Mary³ and Elizabeth³. His estate appraised at 335 lbs. 9s included "Cattel, sheep and swin, provisions, house stuff, clothing and food, housing and lands and winter corn on the ground". The estate indebtedness, probably due to illness and funeral expenses, is listed at 30 lbs. 1s 10d, beside which "For the expense of loss of provisions and bringing up of his children the Court grants to be deducted out of the estate 50 lbs. and out of the remainder of the estate a third granted by the Court to Relict of the deceased during her life". "Eboneaser" Clark swore in Court that he gave "A fixed and just appraisement of his Inventory" and the record further states that "Elizabeth Hoult widow and Relict of Joseph made oath to the proportionate of the whole estate of her husband, as she knows of and if there be any more afterwards appraised she will faithfully bring it in." The statement of the Witnesses to the Will of Joseph Holt is as follows. "We whose names are underwritten, being at the house of Joseph Hoult, late deceased, some time in December last, he being then to the best of our observation in the right use of his understanding, he apprehended the time of his departure out of this world drew near, as he exprest himself to us: Also he found it difficult to settle his estate among his children, they being young yet and did not know what they might need, therefore lefte the whole disposing or distributing of his estate amongst his children to his wife as she saw cause. Likewise he desired Cap't Yale, Eliazer Peck and Ebenezer Clark to be overseers and helpful to his wife in this matter. This to the best of our remembrance was the substance of what he desired us to bear witness too as witness our hands this 14th of Jun. 1698."

Joseph Thomson and Joseph Royce, Witnesses.

With her five small children we may imagine the following years were difficult ones for this young widow of thirty-three years, but that she bravely met and overcame her difficulties is indicated by the fact that her children all grew to manhood and womanhood. We have the record of the marriage of all of them.

Elizabeth French Holt survived her husband by more than thirty-three years. The crumbling red sandstone marker above her grave in the old cemetery in Wallingford bears this inscription.

"Here lieth y^e B^ody of Elizabeth y^e Wife of Joseph Holt. She departed this Life November y^e 18, 1739 in the 76 year of her Age."

CHILDREN OF JOSEPH² AND ELIZABETH (*French*) HOLT

JOSEPH³ HOLT

The first child of this union was born in New Haven September 10, 1685, and bore his Father's name Joseph³.

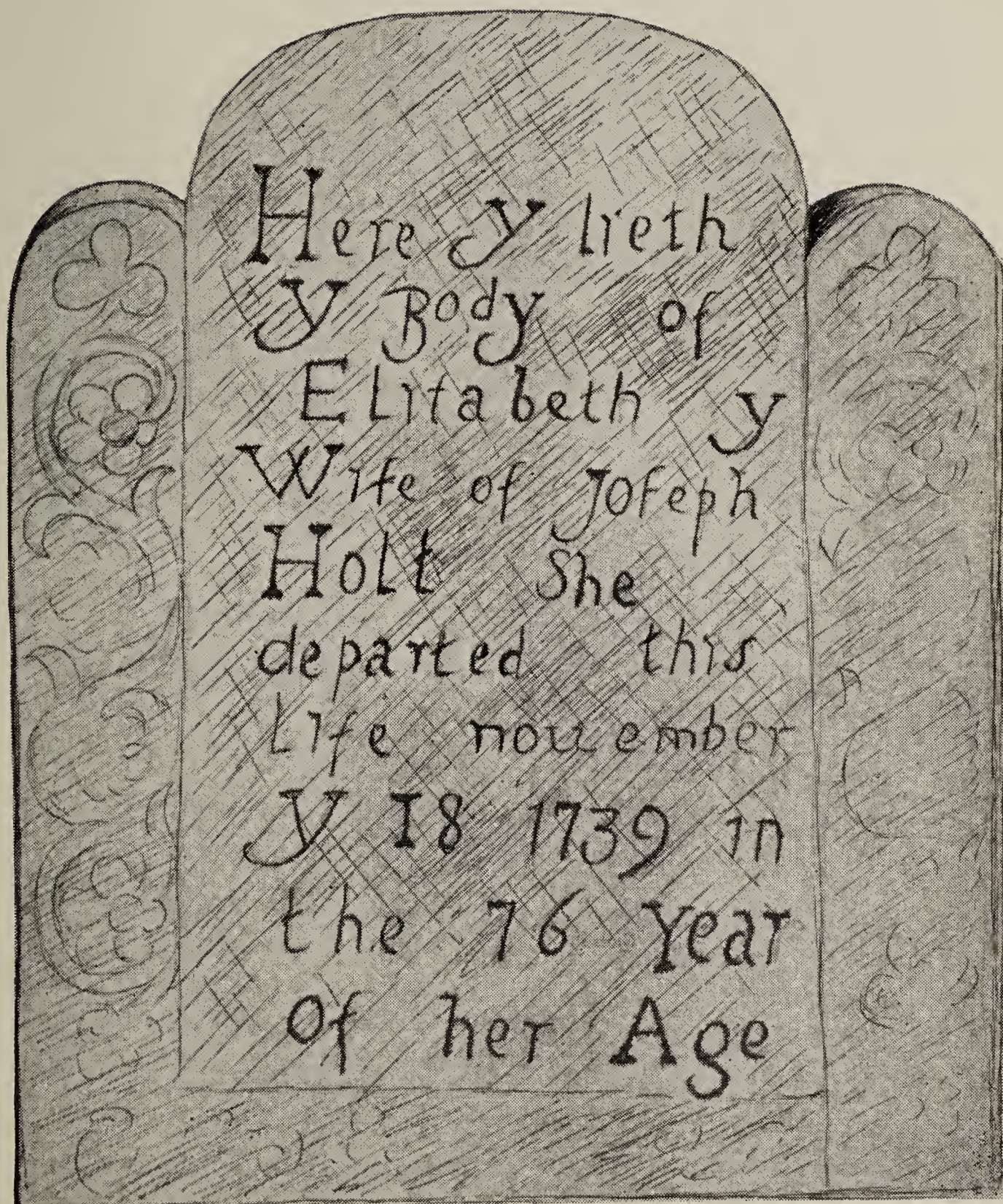
When less than two years of age we find him living with his parents in Wallingford where his long life of eighty-two years was spent.

The Wallingford vital statistics record his marriage four times.

June 8, 1709 in his twenty-fourth year he married Abigail, daughter of Thomas and Mary (Merriman) Curtis, who was born in November 1689.

The Curtis family (spelled also Curtiss, Curtice and Curteis) were among the very early arrivals to these shores. We read of the ship "Lyon reaching Boston September, 1632, having brought William Curtis."

In the earliest records of Roxbury appears a list of the estates of the inhabitants, included in which is the name of William "Curteis" with thirteen persons in his



Drawn and furnished by Lydia B. S. Hall, "The Stone House," Wallingford, Conn.

on the list and we may assume that his grant of land may have been proportioned to the size of his family.

Thomas, Abigail's Father, was the second son of these early settlers. He was born in Stratford, Connecticut, January 14, 1648 and was baptized in 1672. His Will, made at the age of eight-five contains the following: "To my Grandchildren born of y^e body of my daughter Abigail, dead, late wife of Joseph Holt, I give and bequeath four acres of meadow and plain land on y^e West side of Y^e River at a place call^d y^e horse pasture, also my sixth division near y^e West Rocks as they are butted and bounded upon record. All this I give and bequeath unto my daughter's children above named to be divided to each of them in proportion with what I have already given them to make them equal shares of my estate".

The maternal ancestry of the youthful bride of Joseph Holt went back to Nathaniel Merriman, who arrived in the Colony of Connecticut in 1640 and who also helped found the town of Wallingford.

For more than twenty years Joseph³ and his first wife lived together until January 12, 1730, when she died. In the old Centre Street Cemetery her grave is marked by a simple headstone bearing the name

Mr^s Abigail Hoult.

Joseph³ Holt's second wife was Mary Benedict, the widow of Isaac Royce, whom he married July 13, 1730. She died eighteen years later, February 10, 1748.

The following year on July 25th, 1749, he married Mary Roberts, whose ancestor John Roberts had settled in Simsbury, Connecticut in May 1688, that town granting him ten acres of land for a home lot. We do not find a record of Mary Roberts' birth, but her death as the wife of Joseph Holt occurred September 10, 1761.

For the record of the fourth marriage of Joseph Holt we must go to the First Congregational Society of New

Haven, where it is recorded that he married Elizabeth, widow of Barnabas Lewis and of Daniel Merwin, on February 9, 1762. She died July 26, 1766, aged sixty-three years.

Joseph³ Holt was the father of twelve children, two sons and ten daughters, all of whom were by his first wife, Abigail Curtis.

He died at Wallingford June 6, 1767 at the advanced age of eighty-two years. His land in Wallingford consisted of ten acres on Beset Mountain and about one and a half acres on the West Rock, the latter valued at 2 lbs. 9s, according to the Inventory dated September 7, 1767. He also owned half the mill, land, irons and stones at Wharton Brook valued at 6 lbs. Items in this Inventory include "One bed and bedding, one pair leather briches, one blue straitbodied coat, three shirts, two vests, one bed cord, one pair tongs, twenty-eight pounds old iron, three hammers, eight ponds old pewter, two powder horns, one steel trap, two great chairs, small and large iron pots, a Bible and a dictionary."

The price of land at that time is indicated by the total valuation of the estate being only 23 lbs., 3s, 7d. This Inventory was signed by Eliakim Hall and Joseph Price, Justus⁴ Holt, Joseph's son, being the Adminstrator and Joseph Whiting Clark, Judge.

DANIEL³ HOLT

Daniel³, the second child of Joseph and Elizabeth (French) Holt, was born October 6, 1687, in Wallingford.

Three years later on January 6, 1691, into the Hall family, in the same town a daughter was born whom the parents named Rebecca.

Doubtless these two children, whose lives were destined later to flow on together, went to the same school, played together, quarreled and made up as children do, and then grew to love each other; for we have the record

of their marriage on March 2, 1716, when Daniel was twenty-nine and Rebecca Hall almost twenty-six years of age.

Rebecca's father was among those who signed the Covenant of the first planters of the town, and his marriage to Grace Watson June 5, 1675 was the first one solemnized in the new settlement. Their daughter Rebecca was next to the youngest in their family of eleven children.

The married life of Daniel³ Holt and his wife Rebecca seems to have been a long and happy one. They were the parents of twelve children, including twin sons Thomas⁴ and Uriah⁴ (or Zuriah), and twin daughters Rebecca⁴ and Abigail⁴.

A Guardianship Bond dated April 3, 1749 fixes the year of his death. Their son Joseph Holt, born in 1733, came on February 27, 1749 before Samuel Hall (probably an uncle) Justice of the Peace and chose his Mother as his Guardian. This Guardianship Bond, for the sum of 1000 lbs. was signed by John Strickland and Daniel Hoult of East Haven and pledged the latter with Rebecca Holt to administer jointly for the family.

Rebecca Holt survived her husband eleven years, outliving five of her children, only one of whom, Daniel, is recorded as having married.

BENJAMIN³ HOLT

A third son, whom they named Benjamin, was born to Joseph² and Elizabeth Holt in Wallingford September 3, 1690. At the age of thirty-six he married on December 14, 1726 Abigail, daughter of Jacob and Abigail Hitchcock Johnson, who was nine years his junior.

Abigail's father pursued the quiet life of a farmer, bringing up his family, first in the doctrines of the Separatists' faith and later in those of the Orthodox Church.

That the Christian training of these godly parents bore fruit seems indicated by the fact that Abigail's brother Alfred entered the ministry.

Abigail's maternal ancestry went back to Matthias Hitchcock, who had come from London to Boston in the spring of 1635 on the bark "Susan and Ellen". His name appears in 1639 in the records of New Haven Colony.

The high patriotism of Benjamin³ Holt is indicated by his military career as an Ensign, afterward in 1735 a Lieutenant and in 1740 a Captain.

The Connecticut Colonial Records (Vol. VIII p. 296) contain the following entry. "In 1741 Captain Benjamin Holt presented a petition, showing he entertained in October 1740 fifty of the soldiers enlisted in the West Indian expedition, but forgot to present the account. He asked payment and in October 1741 was granted adjustment by a Committee appointed for the purpose, receiving 7 lbs. 8s 10d."

A pathos runs through the family life of Benjamin³ and Abigail Holt as we follow their children. The first child Elizabeth⁴ died at the age of fourteen. Prudence⁴ the second daughter also died in childhood. Later came another baby, also named Prudence⁴. This child grew to womanhood and became the wife of Dr. Caleb Hall. Their first son, Benjamin⁴, lived less than a year and the grief of these parents is wafted across the centuries as we read that when two years later a second son was born he also bore the same name.

A daughter Lydia⁴, of whom we know little, completes the family.

Lydia⁴ and Prudence⁴, the record tells us, being minors at the death of their parents chose respectively Abner and Caleb Johnson (probably Uncles) as their Guardians under bond, the former for 1000 lbs. and the latter 600 lbs. for the faithful performance of their duty.

211
 Wallingford October 6th 1735
 To y^e Honorable General Assembly now sitting at New-
 Haven October 1735 I y^e Subscriber having warned
 all y^e Trained Soldiers under my Command, such others
 allowed by Law to vote, to Chuse such officers as
 were needfull in y^e Company, And Ensign Benjⁿ Holt
 was Chosen Lieut. Sarget Eleazaph Moriman Chosen
 Ensign by y^e major part of y^e voters present, and
 humbly pray this Hon^{ble} Assembly y^t they may be
 Commis^s. Accordingly, Thomas Miles

Capt. of y^e Cost
 Company in Wallingford

Mr Benjⁿ Holt Establish^d Lieut. Mr Eleazaph
 Moriman Ensign of y^e Cost Company or Train Band
 in y^e Town of Wallingford

pass in y^e Lower House
 Post. Jⁿ. Russell Clerk
 Council with in the Upper House
 Sed George Wyllis Secretary

212
 To the Honorable General Assembly Convened
 at New Haven
 These are to Certify that Pursuant to his Honors Command
 the Subscriber have led y^e westernmost Company, or Train Band
 in Milford who were under my Care to a Choice of a Capt. & other
 officers subordinate by vertue of a writ directed from the y^e of the
 Judges of this County of New Haven, Luke Nathan Wal-
 den was Chosen Capt. Sarget Jeremiah Peck was Chosen En-
 sign by a Great Majority of votes, all others that had right to
 vote were warned according to the practice with us on such occasions

Milford October 9th 23^d 1735

Certified pr Sam^l Green Capt

The Above Military Officers are Established by the Upper House
 in the Office, they have respectively chosen to and sworn to a
 Commission accordingly
 Sed George Wyllis Secretary
 Jⁿ. Russell Clerk

To The Honourable Generals Assembly Now sitting at
Hartford May Anno Dom 1740
Having given Legall warning to all the Soldiers and all other
persons by Law Allowed to vote in the Choice of Military
Officers in the first Company in Wallingford to meet at
the Usual place of parades and being so Met on the
26. Day of May Instant I Led them to the Choice of A
Captain & Lieut Benjamin Hault was Chosen Capt by a
great Majority of The Voters present — and then Led them
to the Choice of A Lieut & Ensign Eliaph Meriman was
Chosen Lieut by A great Majority of The Voters present
and then Led them to the Choice of an Ensign &
Clark Christian Street was Chosen Ensign by A great
Majority of The Voters present & pray that they may
be Commissioned Accordingly Dated in Wallingford the
26. Day of May Anno Dom 1740 Certified to your
Honours Obedient Humble servant

Thomas Miles Capt of Company

In the Upper House the Above Military Officers
are Established in the Office to which they are respectively
Chosen and Ordered to be Commissioned Accordingly

Teste George Waples Secy
(concurred in & Lower House)
Teste Andrew Burr Clerk

To the Honorable General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut
 October 2nd 1741. I Memorialize you that your Memorialist Benj^r Holt of Welling-
 ford having been with you in the year 1740 & 1741 & was enlisted
 with you with victuals & clothing & fifty of your soldiers & was enlisted
 & sent into a private expedition to the Spanish West Indies
 out of expense of 7-8-10 money & had Mr. Mapple & quarter
 Masters freight thereof for which I wholly forgot to bring
 account to your Assembly in October last past & now I am
 anything at all thereof & therefore may your Honours to take
 the same under your consideration & Grant it to me & so your pains
 into your Memorialist & so as in duty bound I shall pray
 October 13th 1741 Benj^r Holt

In the Lower house the prayer of
 Memorialist Granted, and that of Benj^r Holt of Welling-
 ford directed to pay the same to him of the Treasury out of the
 Treasury of the Colony seven pounds eight shillings & the pence
 & so on

Upon the Memorial of Cap^t Benj^r Holt of Wellingford, praying
 for a sum of money to be granted to him out of the Treasury
 for his entertaining some soldiers in their march from Hartford
 to Newhaven, on August 9th 1740 ~~conferring that~~
 forasmuch as the papers & accounts referring to the charges
 that have arisen upon the respecting that affairs are at
 Hartford, therefore it is Resolved by this Assembly that
 Nathaniel Stanley & ~~William Moulton~~ ^{John Moulton} Esqrs be a Comtee to
 adjust Cap^t Holt's accounts, and if the s^d Comtee shall find
 any thing due to the s^d Memorialist, they shall by an
 order under their hands direct the Colony Treasurer
 to pay the same

Concurred in by Lower house
 Jos^{ph} John Fowler Clerk

past in the Upper House
 Jos^{ph} George Wyllys Sec^y
 [Oct. 1741]

Resolved by this Assembly That In making the necessary
 preparations for the transportation of the Governor's family
 from this Colony, it is Honoured the Gov^r with the Advice
 & Consent of his Council be Desired to Make up
 of our Colony Sloop the Defence for the performance
 of that Service, & to Improve her on a Cruise
 in the West Indies on such Terms & with so many
 Men as they shall Judge proper; or in any other
 Method so as they shall best Think Best

Concurred in by Lower
 house Jos^{ph} John Fowler
 Clerk

past in the Upper House
 Jos^{ph} George Wyllys Sec^y
 [1741-42]

The Executors Bond dated December 6, 1742, signed by Joseph and Daniel Holt of Wallingford, Nathaniel Curtis Sr., and Isaac Johnson, is for 5000 lbs. to administer the estate of Captain Benjamin Holt who died without a Will. This was a large amount for those days and we may assume from it that Benjamin³ Holt was quite a rich man for the times in which he lived.

In the old Centre Street Cemetery in Wallingford, stand side by side two weather beaten tombstones exactly alike, bearing the following inscriptions:

“Here lies y^e body of
Captain Benjamin Hoult
who died Oct^r y^e 28, 1742
in y^e 53 year or his age.”

and

“Abigail y^e wife of
Captain Benjamin Hoult
died Nov^r 4, 1742.”

From the dates on the headstones it appears she survived her husband by one week only.

THE DAUGHTERS OF JOSEPH² AND ELIZABETH (*French*) HOLT

MARY³ AND ELIZABETH³ HOLT

The two daughters of Joseph² and Elizabeth Holt, Mary³ born January 29, 1693 and Elizabeth³ born March 23, 1696, we follow to womanhood and find them allied by marriage to two rather notable families.

Mary³ at the age of twenty-one married on December 23, 1714 Thomas Royce, probably a brother-in-law of Joseph's second wife, the widow of Isaac Royce.

The original Royce (spelled also Roys) in America was Robert of New London, who married Mary Sims in England. He helped found both the town of Strat-

ford and Wallingford. Four of his sons settled in the latter place. It is likely Thomas Royce was one of them.

The father, Robert Royce, kept a tavern, was a grand jurymen, a shoe maker with a tannery of his own, a sealer of leather, a constable and was deputy to the General Court in 1661. His official title was "Keeper of the Ordinary".

Thomas and Mary³ Holt Royce lived together only fifteen years when, about the year 1729, she died. We have no record of his death.

ELIZABETH³ HOLT on October 5, 1720 became the second wife of Captain Joseph Doolittle.

The progenitor of this family was Abraham Doolittle, who with his bride had come from Kempston, County Bedford, England. He had espoused the cause of the Puritans whom he joined in Boston as early as 1640.

The fertile valley of Connecticut attracted him and he settled in New Haven. He is said to have been the first white man to explore the forests beyond the Quinnipiac River.

In 1669 Abraham Doolittle was named as one of the Commissioners to superintend the affairs of the new settlement to the north known as the New Haven Plain, incorporated the following year May 12, 1670, as the town of Wallingford. The Committee described the location as "The meadow between the Mill River and the East River northward above the Blue Hills".

Into this settlement came the Holts and the Doolittles whose family life was, in a few years, to unite and flow on together for many decades.

Joseph Doolittle, Elizabeth Holt's husband, describes himself in a deed as a rope maker. He was made Lieutenant of a train band on the west side of the river at Wallingford October 1712, by the Hartford General Assembly, his commission being signed by "Gurdon Satterston, Governor and Commissioner-in-Chief of Her

Majesty Queen Anne, Queen of Great Britain, France and Ireland's Colony of Connecticut".

Joseph Doolittle was sent as a deputy to the General Assembly in 1713, 1714 and again in 1716. He was made Captain of his company in Wallingford in May 1716 and bore the title the remainder of his life.

In 1717 he was returned to the Assembly and occupied a seat in that body in 1720 and 1722.

Among the tombstones of his descendants in the old Wallingford cemetery stands a rather imposing one bearing this inscription:

"In Memory of
CAPTAIN JOSEPH DOOLITTLE
who departed this life
May 15: 1733 Æ 63 (or 7)"

"And Mrs. ELIZABETH
his Relict who died June 3, 1768 Æ 73.
Absent from the body
Present with the Lord."

Only one more child, John, who died in infancy, remains to be recorded in the history of this family of Holts.

The memory of these Holts comes down to us unsullied. We enter gratefully into the rich heritage of their early struggles, thankful for the legacy they have left of heroic pioneer spirit, strength of character and sturdy manhood and womanhood. No stain detracts from the high appreciation of their sterling qualities and unselfish living.

Their lives were narrow and circumscribed compared with our own, but there is abundant evidence of their devotion to Family, to Country and to God. In these basic virtues we will do well to follow in their train.

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Bunnell
Holt
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CHAPTER IX.

BENJAMIN² HOLT, SON OF WILLIAM¹

BENJAMIN², the youngest child of William¹ Holt, was born in New Haven March 6, 1657.

With his father, he moved to Wallingford, and lived out his short life there. He died, a bachelor (*rara avis* in those days), August 2, 1690, aged 32.

The inventory of his property at his death, said inventory being dated November 10, 1690, revealed estate valued at 88 lbs., 3s, 6d.

*Dear friends we have accomplished the task we undertook,
In gathering up records to form a little book;
That coming generations their Ancestors might know,
And keep alive in memory the scenes of long ago.*

William W. Johnson
in Johnson Records.

HOLTS, MEMBERS OF SOUTH CHURCH OF ANDOVER

(Copied from Church Book by Mary Exton Holt)

Church No. in Book		Holt Gen. No.
31	Hannah (Farnum) Holt. (Sam ^l) died Jan. 30, 1758. Age 91.	29
51	Moses Holt. Received in church 1712. Died April 6, 1743.	63
71	Nicholas Holt. Received in church 1713. Died Oct. 8, 1715.	7
72	Mary (Russell) Holt. (Nich.). Died April 1, 1717.	7
76	Hannah (Russell) Holt. (Oliver). Died May 16, 1715. Age 37	32
79	Oliver Holt. Died Dec. 24, 1747. Age 76	32
97	Elizabeth (Farnum) Holt. (Geo.). Died Sept. 28, 1714.	35
98	Timothy Holt. Died March 4, 1758. Age 75.	59
101	Abigail (Holt) Holt.	39
113	Josiah Holt. Received in church Sept. 25, 1718. Died Oct. 23, 1754. Age 75.	37
100	Zeviah (Holt) Abbet (Jonathan). Died March 26, 1768. Age 80.	41
114	Mary (Lovejoy) Holt. (Josiah). Received in church Sept. 25, 1718. Died July 5, 1724.	37
123	Henry Holt, Sr. Received in church 1716. Died Jan. 17, 1719. Age 75.	6
124	Sarah (Ballard) Holt. (Henry, Sr.). Died Nov. 25, 1733.	6
132	Elizabeth (Russell) Holt. (Moses). Received in church Oct. 7, 1716.	63
154	James Holt. No date.	34

Church No. in Book		Holt Gen. No.
155	Susanna (Preston) Holt. (James). Died, Feb. 20, 1741.	34
160	Nicholas Holt. Received in church Dec. 6, 1719. Died Dec. 1, 1756. Age 73. No record of Mary Manning, 1st wife.	46
161	Dorcas (Abbot) Holt. (Nich.). Died Oct. 25, 1758. Age 60.	46
164	Mary (Huse) Holt. (Oliver). Died Aug. 1778. Age 88.	32
176	Thomas Holt. Died Jan. 12, 1767. Age 81.	47
177	Alice (Peabody) Holt. (Thom.). Died July 29, 1726.	47
183	Hannah Holt daughter of Samuel.	65
189	Susanna (Wright) Holt. (Oliver J.) Died Dec. 2, 1760.	79
238	Hannah (Abott) Holt. (Abiel) Died Feb. 11, 1751. Age 55.	52
239	Rhoda (Holt) Whittemore. (Elias) Moved on H.	197
240	Prescilla (Holt) Chandler. No date	83
252	Daniel Holt. Died after 1783	82?
270	Mary (Holt) Chandler. (Wm.) Died June 17, 1750.	111?
296	Thomas Holt, Jr. Died Nov. 21, 1776. Age 66.	148
297	Hannah (Kimball) Holt. (Thom. Jr.) Died June 12, 1748	148
303	Jonathan Holt. Died Oct. 14, 1791. Age 80.	85
304	Lydia (Blanchard) Holt. (Jona). Died Dec. 1787.	85
315	Mary (Osgood) Holt. (Jacob). Died Nov. 4, 1745.	87
318	Stephen Holt. Moved to Sancook, N. H. Received in church Feb. 19, 1738. (Died, North Andover, April 25, 1798. H. G.)	139

Church No. in Book		Holt Gen. No.
322	Hannah (Osgood) Holt. (Nich. Jr.) Died Aug. 22, 1744.	140
323	Mary (Abbot) Holt. (Joseph) Moved to Lunenburg 1744. Died Aug. 5, 1748 (H. G.)	150
326	Nicholas Holt, Jr. Moved to N. A. Received in church April 4, 1756. (Died Blue Hill, Maine, 1798. Age 83. Holt Gen.)?	140
328	Susanna (Nuss) Holt from Reading. (James, Jr.) Died Feb. 20, 1742. Maybe cannot find this in H. G. but 198 H. G. only has the name of James. Index mentions James and Susanna Nass.	198
342	Mehitable Holt daughter of John. No dates.	74?
344	Elizabeth (Holt) Holt. (Timothy). Moved Milton 1769.	141
358	Benj., Jr. died July 19, 1784. Age 76.	94
359	Lydia (Benj. Holt) Holt. Died Sept. 11, 1783.	94
366	James, 3rd. Died Aug. 22, 1812. Age 90.	142?
371	Mary Chandler (Holt). (James, Sr.). Died Feb. 10, 1751.	101
382	Elizabeth (Lovejoy) Holt. (Benj.) From N. A. Died 1745.	91
389	Fifield Holt. Died May 13, 1799. Milton, N. H.	129
390	Abigail (Taylor) Holt. (Fifield).	129
392	Elizabeth (Kimball) Holt. Humphrey from Boxford. Died Jan. 30, 1749.	132
403	Nathan H. U. 1757. Moved 1759 to Danvers. Died Dec. 24, 1768.	143
407	Stephen from Sancook. (Died April 25, 1798 H. G.)	139

Church No. in Book		Holt Gen. No.
408	Mary (Farnum) Holt. (Stephen) Moved to N. A. 1756. Died May 9, 1802 H. G.)	139
415	Ruth (Burnap) Holt. (Joshua). (No record of decease) H. G.	77
426	Martha H. 2nd. Died Nov. 15, 1754. Age 76.	?
427	Rebecca (Grey) Holt. (Henry) Died April 12, 1812. Age 80. (Holt Gen. Henry, born Aug. about 1706. Married June 6, 1736, Rebecca daughter Henry Gray. She died Nov. 15, 1754, age 76. He died Sept. 28, 1754, age 48.)	95?
429	Joshua, Jr. Dea Esq., died July 24, 1810. Age 80.	145
438	Abigail (Holt) (Humphrey) Died April 1, 1808. Age 81.	132
464	Deborah (Holt) John 3rd. Died Jan. 1809. Age 88.	73
467	Dorcas (Holt) Holt. (Thomas, Jr.) Died after 1770.	148
472	Hannah (Dane) Holt. (Timothy, Jr.) Died Feb. 6, 1802. Age 83.	199
490	Phebe (Farnum) Holt, daughter of Josh. from N. A. Died Jan., 1806. Age 75.	145
492	Sam Holt died after 1770. (Holt Gen. died Feb. 3, 1802. Age 72.)	219
493	Abigail (Blanchard) Holt. (Sam ¹) Died Nov. 1, 1814. Age 80.	219
495	Ruth (Kimball) Holt. (Jona 2nd). To N. A. Died 1768.	295
637	Ruth.	
496	Jona, 3rd, Dea. to N. A.	295
636	Jona.	
497	Jemima (Gray) Holt. (Sam ¹) Died Aug. 1775. Age 74.	66

Church No. in Book		Holt Gen. No.
499	Rhoda (Timothy). Died Aug. 14, 1765. The above must be Rhoda Chandler Holt.	59
500	Hepzebah (Barker) Holt. (Josiah). Rem. 1770. (Died May 7, 1769 H. G.)	37
504	Sarah Holt. Md. Died. Age 69.	
505	Mary (Russell) Holt. (Jos.)	201
515	John, Sr. Died May 10, 1794. Age 81.	71?
518	Hannah. Died 1784. Age 64.	
519	Bethina. Died 1805. Age 84.	
524	Jemima. Died Jan. 21, 1829. Age 90	223
532	Nathaniel. Died Feb. 1806. Age 80.	208
533	Ely. (Stevens) Holt. (Stephen) Died Dec. 1807. Age 77.	
547	Rachel (Farnum) Holt. (John Brown) To Milton 1720.	
567	Hannah (Holt) (Holt). Daniel (Died 1831. Age 93. H. G.)	146
568	Ruth (Rose?) Holt. (Jonathan) Died 1784. Age 43.	297?
570	Benj. Sr. Died March 17, 1779. Age 75.	

II.

THE MILITARY RECORD OF THE HOLTS

A CAREFUL study of the records indicates that on the whole the Holts have been a peaceful rather than a military folk. A few of the family, by chance or by choice, have adopted the military as a profession and risen to high rank therein, but these are very few when we consider the many thousands of Holts who have played their part in the development of the country. When the occasion demanded, a goodly proportion of them answered the call and served as non-commissioned officers or as privates in the ranks, quick to return to the farm or the counting-house after the emergency was past. The adventurous urge, the glamor of the military, were not for them: rather the steady, regular, oftentimes monotonous, pursuit of an honest livelihood in the ways of peace.

Of course, the Holts are no exception to the general rule in this respect. Families like the Lees, of which the military profession called member after member to high command and great distinction, are very rare. There can be but a few generals for the multitude of men in the ranks. A wide survey of the genealogical records of colonial and revolutionary days would reveal, I am sure, the vast majority of families with the same ambitions, the same characteristics, the same devotion to the duties of peace, the same lack of military pre-eminence which we find in the Holt records.

Our narrative, then, will have but few outstanding figures. The family genealogy compiled by Dr. Durrie has been carefully studied, and the war records available in nearby states have been searched, but the total results will, I fear, seem very meager.

It will be convenient to consider: 1st, the Nicholas Holt descendants; 2d, the William Holt descendants.

THE NICHOLAS HOLT DESCENDANTS

(a) *Up to the Revolutionary War.*

We find the mention of only five Holts with indications of military service in the period before the Revolution.

Joshua (3), born in Andover in 1703, and labeled as a "Captain", but the record does not show how he obtained this title;

Nehemiah (4), born in Andover in 1723, served in the French-Indian war of 1754;

Nicholas (4), born in Andover in 1715, and held the title of Colonel of Militia;

Joseph (4), born in Andover in 1718, served in the Canada expedition of 1758;

Dane, born in Andover in 1740 served in Captain Eben Jones' company in the Canada Expedition of 1758.

(b) *The Revolutionary War.*

In the revolutionary war, testing the full man-power of the colonies, it was natural that a large number of Holts should be called to the colors. Their names, and what we know of their service, are listed herewith:

Samuel (5), born in Andover in 1749, son of John Holt and Deborah Stevens, was the first to enter the War of the Revolution. He was called out as a minute man and was one of the soldiers that went to New York in Captain Abijah Smith's Company, of Col. Baldwin's Regiment September 20, 1776, and served until December of that year.

Joel (5), son of John Holt and Rachel Fletcher, was born in Andover in 1786, and with his brother Solomon (5) born in Andover, served 3 years in the Revolutionary War. Solomon died in that war.

Jacob (5), born in Andover in 1739, the son of Jacob Holt and Mary Osgood. He actively espoused the cause

of his country at the beginning of the war, was at the Battle of Bunker Hill and was a brave and intrepid soldier. Moved to Maine and died there in 1816.

Abel (5), born in Marlborough in 1740. Silas (5), born in Marlborough, was a fifer in Capt. Noah Miles' Company which marched to Cambridge in 1775. In 1777 he was in the service at Bennington, Vt., and in 1780 he enlisted for three years. He died in 1815. Levi (5), was born in 1760, was drafted and was taken sick in camp. His mother went on horseback to see him and was thrown from her horse, receiving a bad head wound, but was able to be with him when he died aged only 15. The three brothers were sons of Barzillai Holt and Elizabeth Goss.

Jonathan (5), was born at Windham in 1750, the son of Zebediah Holt and Sarah Flint—served in the Revolutionary war and drew a pension—died in 1833.

Benjamin (5), was born at Hampton in 1748, the son of George Holt and Mary Allen. Held the office of Ensign and Captain and was with the army under Washington with his headquarters at Cambridge. Died 1809 aged 60.

Nehemiah (5), born at Windham in 1756, the son of Nehemiah Holt and Anna Farnham. Died at Chaplin, Conn., in 1824. He entered the army at the age of 19 and shared in the sufferings, perils, and privations of the Revolution. He was an officer in Colonel Durkee's regiment and while stationed at New York in the summer of 1776, assisted in removing the leaden statue of George III from its location in the old Bowling Green and manufacturing the same into bullets for the use of the army. In September of the same year he was at the battle of Long Island and the next day in the skirmish on Harlem Heights when Col. Knowlton charged into the heart of the 42d regiment of Highlanders. The Colonel was mortally wounded by a bullet in the groin and was taken from his horse by Sergeant Holt. Ne-

hemiah was in the retreat through New Jersey and after crossing the Delaware was engaged in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. At the latter place he took the smallpox from the Hessians and nearly died. Afterwards, he had charge of a company of men employed on the Mohegan Hills in cutting and binding fascines for the army at New London and Groton, Conn. In speaking of the retreat through New Jersey he remarked often: "All night Washington rode at the right of the column, a little in advance, but so near that I could, most of the time, put my hand on the rump of the powerful gray charger upon which he rode. The horse was made restive by the cold sleet pouring down upon us, but his maddened spirit was curbed and controlled with apparent ease by his more powerful rider whose rein hand rested on the pommel of his saddle. Washington spoke scarcely a word during the dreadful march."

Paul (5), born at Hampton in 1743, died in 1827—was present at the battle of Bunker Hill. Josiah (5) was born at Hampton in 1754, died in 1811—was a surgeon in the war, during which time a British vessel laden with drugs was castaway near New York and the cargo confiscated. He purchased the cargo, and medicines being scarce and high, the speculation made him rich. Paul and Josiah were sons of Paul Holt and Mehitable Chandler.

William (5), was born at Tewksbury in 1761, died in 1827. He served three years as fife major. John (5) his brother, was born at Tewksbury in 1764, enlisted in the United States service at the age of 16, served three years and was honorably discharged. Removed to Sudbury, Canada, and was Captain of Militia. They were sons of Humphrey Holt and Mary Holton.

Nathan (5), was born at Andover in 1740, the son of Benjamin Holt and Sarah Frye—was wounded at the Battle of Bunker Hill. 54 mourners attended his funeral.

Jedediah (5), was born at Andover in 1754, the son of Nicholas Holt and Hannah Osgood—died at Blue Hills, Maine in 1847. He moved to Maine in 1765 and took up farming. When the British took possession of Castine 17 miles away, the settlers were compelled to march through the woods to take the oath of allegiance to the King. Soon after they had taken the required oath, Commodore Saulter came in with an American fleet, calling on the inhabitants to join him. Saulter delayed his movements until the British sent to New York and procured a fleet which ran up the Penobscot River and destroyed Saulter's fleet. The British sent out a proclamation calling upon all who had joined Saulter to take the oath a second time, which Jedediah refused to do. With one of his neighbors, he bought a small schooner and taking his wife and child, went to Beverly, Mass., where he stayed until peace was declared.

Nicholas (5), brother of Jedediah, born in Andover in 1757, died in Blue Hills, Me., in 1833. He was wounded and crippled for life in the war, but through some informality failed to obtain a pension.

Joshua (5), born in Andover in 1758—son of Joshua Holt and Phebe Farnum—Enlisted as a private and was stationed at Boston. He was absent on the day of the Battle of Bunker Hill, having been sent for supplies, but returned to help bury the dead. Joshua died in 1835.

Abiel (5), born in Lunenburg in 1748, died in 1811. He was the son of Joseph Holt and Mary Abbot. He was one of a company who went to New York, Dec. 5, 1776, in Capt. Thomas' company of Col. D. Gilman's regiment, where he served until March 15, 1777. In September of 1777, he was one of 19 who marched to Saratoga in Capt. G. Drury's Company of Col. Moore's Regiment and General Whipple's Brigade. In October 1780, he was one of 16 who marched to Coos, N. H., at the time Royalston was burned by the Indians.

Zebediah (6) was born in Andover in 1759, died 1817—Son of Jonathan Holt and his wife Shua. He entered the war of the Revolution at Concord, followed the British army to Cambridge, where he enlisted. He was at the battle of Bunker Hill, went with Arnold to Quebec by way of the Kennebeck, came back by the Lakes, was at the taking of Burgoyne, was with Washington in the retreat through New Jersey, and was in several battles in the south. Entered the service in 1775—made Sergeant Major of the 1st Massachusetts regiment. He received an honorable discharge signed by Henry Knox, Major General, commanding forces of North River, and dated Dec. 20, 1785. Although serving seven years in the army, he never received the value of fifty dollars in money.

Samuel (6), born in Andover in 1761—Died in Watertown—Son of Samuel Holt and Abigail Blanchard. Served in the war of the Revolution.

Darius (6), born in Andover in 1763—Son of David Holt and Hannah Martin. He was with General Wayne when he stormed and took Stony Point. During his service as sentinel he had his skull fractured, but it was trepanned and a piece of silver put into the wound. He moved to Norway, Maine, in 1789, where he died.

Obadiah (6), born at Andover in 1755—Died at Clinton in 1815—Son of Isaac Holt and Mary Marble. He was a private in Capt. Daniel Wilkins' company and was taken prisoner at Fort Cedar, Canada, November 17, 1776.

Ephraim (6), was born at Holden, Mass., in 1762—Died in 1859—Son of Ephraim Holt and Sarah Black. He was a soldier in the Revolutionary war, for which service he received a pension under the law of 1832.

Thirteen Holts from Milton, New Hampshire, served in the Revolution. Their names are on a monument which was unveiled in Milton on May 30, 1924, and are as follows: Amos, Sr., Amos, Jr., Barachius,

Daniel, Enoch, Fifield, Jeremiah, Sr., Jeremiah, Jr., Joel, Nehemiah, Oliver, Simeon, and Solomon. Two were at Bunker Hill, two in the Canada Expedition, and one in the defense of Portsmouth.

THE WILLIAM HOLT DESCENDANTS

(a) *Up to the Revolutionary War.*

From Durrie's "The Holt Family" we extract the following record of two Holts holding military rank in the period before the Revolution:

Nathaniel (2), born at New Haven in 1647, the son of William and Sarah Holt. Held the military title of sergeant and was sent into the Narragansett country during King Philip's War and was wounded in the shoulder in the Great Swamp fight December 19, 1675. In October, 1678, on his application for relief, having, as he said, been severely wounded in the cause of his country, the General Court awarded him five pounds. He died at Newport in 1723.

Eleazer, brother of Nathaniel (2), was born in New Haven in 1651 and died in 1737. He held the military office of Ensign.

(b) *The Revolutionary War.*

The following Holts of the William Holt line are recorded by Durrie as having served in the Revolutionary War:—

Dan (5), born at East Haven in 1744, the son of Daniel Holt and Anna Smith—died in East Haven in 1829. He was a lieutenant in a company which went to the assistance of New York during its occupancy by the British in 1776.

Eleazer (5), born at East Haven in 1752, the son of Isaac Holt and Mercy Ball. Died in 1835. Served in the war of the Revolution and was present at the taking of Burgoyne.

Nicholas (5), born at East Haven in 1755, brother of Eleazer, enlisted at the age of 17 under Capt. Watson and with his company was ordered to proceed to Quebec to assist General Montgomery. Captain Watson met the enemy on the retreat, discomfited, enfeebled and sick with the smallpox. Nicholas contracted the disease and while they were crossing Lake George he leaped into the water. He took a severe cold which settled in his hip, occasioning a large swelling which partially maimed him for life.

Stephen (5), born in East Haven in 1760, was another brother of Eleazer. He was a soldier and was present at the taking of Burgoyne and also at the burning of Danbury. He was a very worthy, estimable man, highly respected. He died in 1855 and his brother Nicholas in 1832.

John (5), born in New London in 1746, the son of John Holt and Sarah Strickland, was one of a band of patriots who defended Fort Griswold on the fatal day when Arnold made his descent on the coast and burnt New London. He was slain with many others by the infuriated conquerors after the surrender of the fort on September 6, 1781. His remains lie in the ancient burying ground at New London with the following inscription on his headstone:— "In memory of Mr. John Holt, Jr., who was slain at Fort Griswold, September 6, 1781, in the 35th year of his age."

George (5), born at Lyme, Conn., in 1757; son of William Holt and Phebe Lay. Moved to Otsego, New York, where he died in 1834. Served three years in the Continental service.

Ebenezer (5), born in New London in 1760; son of Ebenezer Holt and Joanna Harris. Died in 1835.

Samuel (5), born in New London in 1754; son of William Holt and Sarah Way. Died in 1810. Both Ebenezer and Samuel Holt served in the Revolutionary War, the latter being an officer.

And here ends the record, so far as the Colonial

and Revolutionary periods are known to us, of the Holts who had Military service in the early history of our country. We started by acknowledging that "The Holts have been a peaceful rather than a military folk". And yet, now that we have them all listed, we find an impressive number of our ancestors who really did participate in the struggles accompanying the development of our country and the founding of the Nation. These men who served in the Revolution were all of the 5th or 6th generation from Nicholas or William. In spite of the large families which were characteristic of first settlers and colonists, the actual number of men of Holt blood, of an age available for military service, and physically qualified, was not great. As we have noted, twenty-four Holts of the Nicholas line (not counting the thirteen listed indiscriminately on the Milton monument) and eight of the William line have records of service in the Revolutionary War. A careful check-up of Durrie's family history reveals a total number of 150 Holt men of the Nicholas line between the age of eighteen and forty-five at the outbreak of the Revolution and 45 of the William line. So between sixteen and eighteen per cent of the Holts, qualified for military service at the outbreak of the Revolution, actually rallied to the colors.

But of course this record does not tell the whole story. It is a commonplace of military experience that the devoted services of at least eight behind the lines is necessary to keep one man supplied and equipped as a fighting unit. We may well credit, therefore, many of our non-combatant Holt men with important and valuable service in the War, services unheralded and unrecorded but no less vital for the success of the cause.

And still the story is not complete. We have said nothing of the Holt women, through whose blood the Holt line under other names contributed to the military strength of the colonies in their decisive war. It would be a narrow view indeed were we to disregard them.

It is a mere convention of society that descent is traced through the male line, and so often a woman loses her family identity in her marriage alliance. It is impracticable to trace the records of all the Holt women who married and whose descendants under other names participated in the wars of colonial times and in the Revolution. It is obvious, however, that they are many in number, and that the collective services rendered by these descendants would rival in amount those rendered by men of the Holt name. The Holt blood, the blood of the pioneers Nicholas and William, flowed in their veins, and helped to mould their character.

And so, as we consider the record as a whole, the family contribution to the military defence of the colonies bulks large. Thus we end with a contradiction of our opening statement "that on the whole the Holts have been a peaceful rather than a military folk". We might go back and change that first sentence, but we prefer not to do so. Let the story stand as written, and let the reader draw his own conclusion.

Tabular Biographical
Records

TABULAR BIOGRAPHICAL RECORDS OF THE
FIRST THREE GENERATIONS OF THE
NICHOLAS HOLT FAMILY IN
AMERICA

Children of NICHOLAS HOLT, Pioneer Immigrant,
and Elizabeth (Short) Holt, who arrived in Ship
"James" from England, 1635. Elizabeth
died in 1656.

HANNAH

Born: England, about 1634

Married: March 8, 1668, Robert Gray, died September 5, 1718.

Died: March 30, 1728

See Page 191-192

ELIZABETH

Born: March 30, 1636

Married: October 26, 1658, Ralph Farnum, died January 8, 1692.

Died: October 14, 1710

See Page 196-200

MARY

Born: Ocotober 6, 1638

Married: July 5, 1657, Thomas Johnson, son of John Johnson ("Haverhill John").

Second, Demaris Marshall, 1703, died February 15, 1719.

Died: November 15, 1700

See Page 205-208

SARAH

Born: About 1640

Married: Roger Marks.

Died: December 22, 1690

Other history undiscovered

See Page 213-214

SAMUEL

Born: October 6, 1641

Married: Before 1670, Sarah Allen, daughter of Andrew and Faith (Ingalls) Allen. Died April 3, 1716.

Died: November 7, 1703

See Page 105-126

HENRY

Born: 1644

Married: February 24, 1669, Sarah Ballard, daughter of William and Grace (?) Ballard, died November 25, 1733.

Died: January 17, 1719

See Page 127-130

NICHOLAS

Born: 1647

Married: January 8, 1679, Mary Russell, daughter of Robert and Mary (Marshall) Russell, died April 1, 1717.

Died: October 8, 1715

See Page 151-157

JAMES

Born: 1651

Married: October 12, 1675, Hannah Allen, daughter of Andrew and Faith (Ingalls) Allen, died September 30, 1698.

Died: December 13, 1690

See Page 183-185

PRISCILLA

Born: June 20, 1653

Died: October 16, 1653

Children of **Nicholas Holt** and his second wife, **Hannah (Bradstreet) Holt**, Widow of Daniel Rolfe.
Hannah died in 1665.

REBECCA

Born: November 14, 1662

No further record; probably died young.

JOHN

Born: January 14, 1664

Married: July 3, 1685, Sarah Geery, daughter of Nathaniel and Anne (Douglas) Geery.

Second, John Preston, died, 1691.

Died: March 10, 1687

See Page 189

Children of **Hannah**, oldest child of Nicholas and Elizabeth (Short) Holt, and **Robert Gray**, first of Salem and later of Andover, married March 8, 1868.

CATHERINE

Born: July 15, 1670, Salem

Died: September 28, 1751, Andover

See Page 192

HENRY

Born: January 17, 1671, Salem

Married: Mary Blount, May 13, 1699, daughter of Wm. and Elizabeth (Ballard) Blount, died August 7, 1773.

Died: July 1, 1741

See Page 192-193

JEMIMA

Born: Salem, October 1, 1673

Died: After seven months.

HANNAH

Born: Salem, November 30, 1674

Married: Thos. Abbot, Andover, December 7, 1697, son of Geo. Abbot, Sr. and Hannah (Chandler) Abbot, died April 28, 1728.

Died: January 25, 1763

See Page 193-194

EDWARD

Born: September 12, 1679, Andover

Married: December 2, 1702, Sarah Osgood, daughter of Christopher and Hannah (Barker) Osgood, died May 14, 1718.

Second, October 27, 1719, Hannah Barker, daughter of William and Mary (Dix) Barker, died January 27, 1762.

Died: September 15, 1759

See Page 194-195

THOMAS

Born: Andover, September 16, 1681

Married: December 24, 1703, Susannah Batchelder.

Second, June 21, 1739, Elizabeth Hutchinson.

See Page 195

BREVITOR

Born: Andover, September 29, 1685

Married: November 10, 1710, Dorothy Abbot, daughter of Thomas and Sarah (Steward) Abbot, died after 1725.

Died: November 10, 1724

See Page 195-196

AARON

Born: April 14, 1692

Died: December 20, 1711

Children of **Elizabeth**, second child of Nicholas and Elizabeth (Short) Holt, and **Ralph Farnum** (or Farnam, or Farnham) of Andover, married October 26, 1658.

SARAH

Born: Andover, January 14, 1661

Married: Benjamin Abbot, April 22, 1685, son of Geo. Abbot, Sr. and Hannah (Chandler) Abbot.

See Page 200

RALPH

Born: June 1, 1662

Married: October 9, 1685, Sarah Sterling, daughter of Wm. and Elizabeth (?) Sterling, died, April 13, 1732.

Died: January 3, 1738

See Page 202-203

JOHN

Born: April 1, 1664

Married: April 10, 1684, Elizabeth Parker, daughter of Nathan and (2nd wife) Mary (?) Parker, died January 11, 1717.

Died: January 10, 1729

See Page 203

HENRY

Born: December 7, 1666

Died: May 7, 1683

HANNAH

Born: December 7, 1668

Married: March 28, 1693, Samuel Holt, son of Samuel and Sarah (Allen) Holt, died July 20, 1747.

Died: January 30, 1758

See Page 203-204

THOMAS

Born: July 14, 1670

Married: May 14, 1693, Hannah Hutchinson, died May 19, 1716.

Second, Dorothy Lacy, daughter of Lawrence and Mary (Foster) Lacy, died October 10, 1747.

Died: April 28, 1744

See Page 204

EPHRAIM

Born: October 1, 1676

Married: March 20, 1700, Priscilla Holt, daughter of James and Hannah (Allen) Holt, died after 1744.

Died: June 9, 1744.

See Page 204-205

Children of **Mary**, third daughter of Nicholas and Elizabeth (Short) Holt, and **Thomas Johnson** of Andover, Married July 5, 1657.

MARY

Born: February 11, 1659

Married: September 17, 1673, Return Johnson.

Later history undiscovered.

See Page 208

SUSANNA

Born: October 4, 1662

PHEBE

Born: January 3, 1664

JOHN

Born: February 28, 1668

Married: September 13, 1689, Eleanor Ballard, daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth (Phelps) Ballard, died November 21, 1707.

Second, May 18, 1708, Mary Farnum, daughter of Thomas and Elizabeth (Sibborn) Farnum, died May 17, 1723.

Third, August 24, 1723, Anna Farnum, widow of Thomas Russ, (died 1707), daughter of John (brother of Thomas above) and Rebecca (Kent) Farnum, died, December 31, 1743.

Died: May 26, 1741

See Page 208-209

THOMAS

Born: October 9, 1670

Married: July 24, 1701, Hannah Stone, daughter of
Hugh and Hannah (Foster) Stone.

Died: Oct. 22, 1733.

See Page 210

JAMES

Born: February 4, 1672

Married: April 2, 1692, Elizabeth Farnum, widow
of Andrew Peters (died 1689), daughter of
Thos. and Elizabeth (Sibborn) Farnum,
sister of 2nd wife of John Johnson, James'
older brother, died January 31, 1716.

Second, August 28, 1716, Sarah Peabody,
widow of Benjamin Smith, daughter of
Joseph and Bethiah (Bridges) Peabody.

Died: October 14, 1748

See Page 210-211

PETER

Born: August 8, 1675

Married: November 29, 1693, Mehitable Farnum,
daughter of Thos. and Elizabeth (Sibborn)
Farnum, sister to 2nd wife of John and 1st
wife of James.

Later history undiscovered.

See Page 212

JEMIMA

Born: January 1, 1678

JOSIAH

Born: Oct. 29, 1683

Married: June 19, 1711, Annis Chandler, daughter of
Thos. and Mary (Peters) Chandler.

Died: October 15, 1727

See Page 212

Children of **Samuel Holt**, son of Nicholas and Elizabeth
(Short) Holt, and **Sarah Allen**, married about 1679.

SAMUEL

Born: August 3, 1670

Married: March 28, 1693, Hannah Farnum, daughter of Ralph and Elizabeth (Holt) Farnum, died Jan. 30, 1758.

Died: July 20, 1747

See Page 110-111

JOHN

Born: 1672

Married: January 16, 1706, Elizabeth Preston, daughter of Samuel and Susannah (Gutter-son) Preston.

Second, July 17, 1712, Mehitable Wilson.

See Page 111

Children of **Henry Holt**, son of Nicholas and Elizabeth (Short) Holt, and **Sarah (Ballard) Holt**, married February 24, 1669.

ELIZABETH

Born: December 29, 1670

Married: June 14, 1711, Benjamin Harndon, (his 2nd marriage), son of Richard and Mary (?) Harndon, died May 30, 1740.

Died: December 21, 1734

See Page 130-132

OLIVER

Born: January 14, 1672 (?)

Married: March 9, 1698, Hannah Russell, daughter of Robert Russell, died May 16, 1715.

Second, July 10, 1716, Mary Huse, daughter of Thos. and Hannah (?) Huse, died September 1, 1778.

Died: December 24, 1747

See Page 132-133

HENRY

Born: January 24, 1673

Married: ———, 1700, Martha ———, died
November 15, 1754.

Died: June 10, 1751

See Page 133-135

JAMES

Born: September 3, 1675

Married: May 24, 1705, Susannah Preston, daughter
of Samuel and Susannah (Gutterson) Pres-
ton, died February 20, 1741-2.

Died: October, 1732

See Page 135-137

GEORGE

Born: March 17, 1676-7

Married: May 10, 1698, Elizabeth Farnum, daughter
of Thos. and Elizabeth (Sibborn) Farnum,
died Sept. 28, 1714.

Second, February 22, 1714-15, Priscilla
Preston, daughter of Samuel and Susannah
(Gutterson) Preston, sister of wife of James,
died January 29, 1715-16.

Third, Mary Bixby, June 7, 1717, daughter
of Daniel and Hannah (Chandler) Bixby.

Died: June 29, 1748

See Page 137-139

SARAH

Born: June 17, 1678

Married: February 18, 1707-8, John Cram, son of
Thomas and Elizabeth (Weare) Cram, died
September (or Oct.) 1757.

Died: 1757

See Page 139-141

JOSIAH

Born: December 13, 1679

Married: June 8, 1710, Mary Lovejoy, daughter of Wm. and Mary (Farnum) Lovejoy, died July 5, 1724.

Second, December 22, 1726, Hepzibah Barker, daughter of William and Mary (Dix) Barker, died, May 7, 1769.

Died: October 23, 1754

See Page 142-143

DINAH

Born: May 23, 1681

Married: July 3, 1705, Daniel Pierce, son of John and Deborah (Convers) Pierce, died March 14, 1754.

Died: January 7, 1738

See Page 143-144

PAUL

Born: February 7, 1684

Married: January 10, 1711-12, Abigail Holt, daughter of Nicholas and Mary (Russell) Holt, died August 12, 1742.

(? Confusion with Sarah; see text.)

Died: Hampton, Conn., May 7, 1742

See Page 144-146

WILLIAM

Born: February 3, 1687

Died: December 22, 1719

See Page 146-147

ZERVIAH

Born: March 24, 1688-89

Married: May 6, 1713, Jonathan Abbot, son of Benj. and Sarah (Farnum) Abbot, died March 21, 1770.

Died: March 26, 1768

See Page 147-148

KETURAH

Born: December 15, 1690

Married: February 16, 1724-5, Joshua Holt, son of
Nicholas and Mary (Russell) Holt.

Died: October 2, 1781

See Page 148

HUMPHREY

Born: September 22, 1693

Married: 1716, Abigail Fifield, died after 1754.

Died: August 8, 1754

See Page 149-150

BENJAMIN

Born: July 8, 1696

Died: September 15, 1703

Children of **Nicholas Holt**, son of Nicholas and Elizabeth
(Short) Holt, and **Mary (Russell) Holt**, married
January 8, 1679.

MARY

Born: February 13, 1680

Married: September 19, 1705, Josiah Ingalls, son of
Henry and Mary (Osgood) Ingalls.

Died: February 19, 1714-15

See Page 157-158

NICHOLAS

Born: December 31, 1683

Married: September 16, 1708, Mary Manning, died
March 3, 1715-16.

Second, Dorcas Abbot, April 12, 1717,
daughter of Timothy and Hannah (Graves)
Abbot, died October 25, 1758.

Died: December 1, 1756

See Page 158-163

THOMAS

Born: August 16, 1686

Married: December 15, 1708, Alice Peabody, daughter of Joseph and Bethiah (Bridges) Peabody, died July 29, 1726.

Second, November 16, 1727, Abigail Poor, widow of John Fiske, died November 29, 1766.

Died: January 12, 1767

See Page 164-166

ABIGAIL

Born: November 23, 1688

Married: January 10, 1711-12, Paul Holt, son of Henry and Sarah (Ballard) Holt, died May 7, 1742.

Died: About 1720?

See Page 166

JAMES

Born: July 23, 1693

Died: ? December 18, 1722

See Page 167

SARAH

Born: March 10, 1690-91

Died: ? October 26, 1761

See Page 167

ROBERT

Born: January 30, 1695-96

Married: May 22, 1718, Rebecca Preston, daughter of John and Sarah (?) Preston, died, Hampton, Conn., May 1, 1727.

Second, December 13, 1727, Bethiah Peabody, daughter of Joseph and Bethiah (Bridges) Peabody, sister of wife of Thomas, Robert's brother, died, Hampton, February 6, 1742-43.

Third, March 28, 1743, Hannah Andross,
died after 1768.

Died: April, 1768

See Page 167-174

ABIEL

Born: June 28, 1698

Married: February 12, 1721-22, Hannah Abbot,
daughter of Wm. and Elizabeth (Geery)
Abbot, died February 11, 1752.

Second, December 19, 1752, Sarah Downer,
died, Willington, Conn., April 15, 1784.

Died: Willington, Conn., November 10, 1772

See Page 174-178

DEBORAH

Born: November 16, 1700

Married: ? Benjamin Preston, May 25, 1727, son of
Jacob and Sarah (Wilson) Preston, died
November 26, 1784.

Died: November 26, 1784

See Page 178-179

JOSHUA

Born: 1703

Married: February 23, 1724-25, Keturah Holt,
daughter of Henry and Sarah (Ballard)
Holt, died October 2, 1781.

Died: After 1774

See Page 179-180

DANIEL

Born: 1705

Married: May 31, 1730, Abigail Smith, died, Pom-
fret, Conn., February 9, 1752.

Second, December 26, 1752, Kezia Russ,
died September, 1796.

Died: Pomfret, Conn., November 5, 1773

See Page 181-182

Children of **James Holt**, son of Nicholas Holt and Elizabeth (Short) Holt, and **Hannah (Allen) Holt**,
Married, October 12, 1675.

HANNAH

Born: August 10 (12?), 1677

Married: January 4, 1697-98, Samuel Farnum, died
December 20, 1754.

Died: April 11, 1747.

See Page 185

PRISCILLA

Born: August 13, 1679

Married: March 10, 1699, Ephraim Farnum, son of
Ralph and Elizabeth (Holt) Farnum, died
June 9, 1744.

Second, (?) August 28, 1750, Stephen Johnson.

See Page 185-186

LYDIA

Born: September 27, 1681

Married: January 27, 1701-2, Samuel Peabody, son
of Joseph and Bethiah (Bridges) Peabody;
died (?) May 1, 1706.

Died: October 10, 1741

See Page 186

TIMOTHY

Born: January 25, 1683

Married: April 19, 1705, Rhoda Chandler, daughter
of Wm. and Bridget (Henchman) Chandler,
died August 14, 1765.

Died: March 4, 1758

See Page 186-187

JOSEPH

Born: March 5, 1686

Married: April 7, 1726, Abigail Rich, daughter of

John and Martha (?) Rich, died after 1743.
? Second, Zerviah Winch.

Later history undiscovered.

See Page 187-188

REBECCA

Born: Andover, March 24, 1688

See Page 188

JAMES

Born: 1690

See Page 188

Children of **John Holt**, son of Nicholas and his second wife, Hannah (Bradstreet) Holt, and **Sarah (Geery) Holt**, Married July 3, 1685.

MOSES

Born: June 7, 1686

Married: January 31, 1716, Elizabeth Russell, daughter of Robert and Mary (Marshall) Russell.

Died: November 7, 1730

See Page 189-190

AARON

Born: June 7, 1686

Twin to Moses

Died: In infancy.

TABULAR BIOGRAPHICAL RECORD OF THE
FIRST THREE GENERATIONS OF THE
WILLIAM HOLT FAMILY IN
AMERICA

WILLIAM HOLT
of New Haven
Married Sarah ———.

JOHN

Born: 1645

Married: Jan., 1673, Elizabeth Thomas, daughter of
John and Tabitha Thomas.

Died: June 16, 1733

See Page 233-237

NATHANIEL

Born: 1647

Married: April 5, 1680, Rebecca Beebe, daughter of
Thomas and Millicent (Addis) Beebe.

Married: 2nd ———

Died: May 28, 1723

See Page 241-245

MERCY

Born: 1649

Married: Abraham Doolittle, November 9, 1680.

Died: ———

See Page 247-251

ELEAZAR

Born: April 5, 1651

Married: First, Tabitha, daughter of John and
Tabitha Thomas, November 5, 1674.
Second, Mary Sanford.

Died: June 24, 1736

See Page 253-258

THOMAS

Born: July 3, 1653

Unmarried

Died: 1677

See Page 273

JOSEPH

Born: April 2, 1655

Married: November 20, 1684, Elizabeth French.

Died: December, 1697

See Page 275-280

BENJAMIN

Born: March 6, 1657

Unmarried

Died: August 2, 1690

See Page 289

JOHN HOLT AND HIS CHILDREN

Son of William Holt and Sarah ———.

Married Elizabeth Thomas

ELIZABETH

Born: September 28, 1674

Married: John Potter, February 23, 1692, son of John
and Hannah (Cooper) Potter.

Died: December 19, 1751

See Page 237-238

JOHN

Born: March 23, 1679

Died: In infancy

See Page 238

JOSEPH

Born: January 22, 1680

Married: February 28, 1706, Abigail Hemingway,
daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Cooper)
Hemingway. *Died,* February 10, 1737.

Married Second: Mary ————. Died, 1743.
Married Third: 1745 Joanna Gaylord Widow of
1st Robert Royce, and 2nd John Johnson;
daughter of Joseph and Sarah Gaylord.
Died: May 25, 1770
See Page 238-239

DANIEL

Born: March 30, 1689
Died: Young
See Page 239

NATHANIEL HOLT AND HIS CHILDREN

Son of William and Sarah ————
Married Rebecca Beebe
Married 2nd ————

WILLIAM

Born: July 15, 1681
Married: 1713, Katharine Butler.
Died: October 6, 1766
See Page 242-243

NATHANIEL

Born: July 18, 1683
Married: December 20, 1706, Phebe Tomlin.
Died: March 19, 1751
See Page 243

BENJAMIN, son of 2nd wife

Born: About 1691
See Page 242-243

MERCY HOLT

Daughter of William Holt and Sarah ————.
Married Abraham Doolittle

JOHN

Born: August 13, 1681

Married: February 28, 1705, Mary Frederick.

Died: December, 1746

See Page 249-250

ABRAHAM

Born: March 27, 1684

Married: August 10, 1710, Mary Lewis.

1749, Sarah ———

Died: November 10, 1772

See Page 250-251

SARAH

Born: February 5, 1686

SUSANNAH

Born: April 15, 1688

ELEAZAR HOLT AND HIS CHILDREN

Son of William and Sarah ———.

Married Tabitha Thomas

WILLIAM

Born: September 25, 1675

Died: November 28, 1675

See Page 258

THOMAS

Born: November 4, 1676

Married: May 9, 1722, Abigail Johnson.

Died: March 13, 1758

See Page 259-261

SARAH

Born: April 2, 1679

Married: September 22, 1698, John Bradley.

Died: March 29, 1743

See Page 261-262

SUSANNAH

Born: October 21, 1681

Married: February 5, 1707-08, Roger Alling.

Died: June 4, 1712

See Page 262-263

TABITHA

Born: January 30, 1683

Married: First, June 30, 1709, Samuel Whitehead.

Second, David Atwater, December 2, 1718.

Died: October 4, 1743

See Page 263-265

ABIGAIL

Born: November 17, 1686

Married: Enos Pardee, before 1715.

Died: 1760

See Page 266-267

ELIZABETH

Baptized: 1690

Died: April 21, 1718

See Page 267

LYDIA

Baptized: November 5, 1693

Married: First, February 4, 1724, John Bassett.

Second, Stephen Sperry, before 1731.

Died: August 31, 1776

See Page 268-272

JOSEPH HOLT, AND HIS CHILDREN

Son of William Holt and Sarah ———.

Married Elizabeth French

JOSEPH

Born: September 10, 1685

Married: First, June 8, 1709, Abigail Curtis.

Second, July 13, 1730, Mary Benedict,

Widow of Isaac Royce.

Third, July 25, 1749, Mary Roberts.

Fourth, February 9, 1762, Elizabeth,
Widow of (1st) Baranabas Lewis, and
(2nd) Daniel Merwin.

Died: June 6, 1767

See Page 280-282

DANIEL

Born: October 6, 1687

Married: March 2, 1716, Rebecca Hall.

Died: February, 1749

See Page 282-283

BENJAMIN

Born: September 3, 1690

Married: December 14, 1726, Abigail Johnson.

Died: October 28, 1742

See Page 283-285

MARY

Born: January 29, 1693

Married: December 23, 1714, Thomas Royce.

Died: About 1729

See Page 285-286

ELIZABETH

Born: March 23, 1696

Married: October 5, 1720, Joseph Doolittle.

Died: June 3, 1768

See Page 286-287

JOHN

Died: In infancy.

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